S. 9. 1. 1 B. a. 20

THE HISTORY OF THE House of Esté,

From the time of *Forrestus* until the Death of *Alphonsus* the last Duke of *Ferrara*:

Liber Bibliotheca Edinburgensis

With an Account of the pretended devolution of that Dutchy unjustly usurped by *Clement* VIII.

Wherein likewise the most considerable Revolutions of *Italy* from the year 452. to the year 1598. are briefly touched.

LONDON,
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[illegible]

TO HER

Royal Highneſs

MARY of *ESTE'*

Dutcheſs of *ALBANY*, &c.

Madam,

THe Zeal I find run through the whole Nation to expreſs its high value for your Royal Highneſs, has begot in me an ambition to promote ſo Noble a Deſign; and ſince the appearance of ſo mean a perſon at Court could add nothing to its Luſtre, I have ſet my thoughts at work how to contribute ſomewhat towards it in my retirement.

At Your firſt coming among us, our Loyalty to our Soveraign, and our Duty to his only Brother, diſpo-

ſed us to do every thing in our power that might be acceptable to ſo great a Princeſs: But Your Royal Highneſs's condeſcending to the ſimplicity in which we live, Your affable deportment towards all that have the honour to come near Your Perſon, and Your ſeeming pleaſed with our weak endeavours to ſerve You, do juſtly challenge that reſpect as due now to Your ſelf, which we muſt however have paid to Your Quality.

When we reflected how long we had been ſtrangers to a Court, we could not but think our ſelves ill fitted to receive a Princeſs Born and Bred in the Paradiſe of the World; One whom the Greateſt Courts of Chriſtendom had admired, and who had been uſed to nothing below the beſt of our Britiſh Accommodation: only as we then knew Your Royal Highneſs came prepared to bear

with

with the plainneſs of a Northern Climate; ſo we ſince find you are in ſome meaſure delighted with it: and we begin to flatter our ſelves, that the happineſs of ſo illuſtrious a Gueſt, which was procured to us at firſt by Your Obedience, is now continued to us by your choice.

Theſe things having already gained Your Royal Highneſs the hearts of all this Kingdom, I thought I could not employ my ſelf better than in endeavouring to confirm our Veneration for Your perſon, by an account of Your Family; and as we eaſily imagined it to be no Ordinary One, ſo upon an exact ſearch, I find that Italy *has nothing more Ancient or Great to boaſt of.*

Your Heroick Anceſtors have been ſharers in all the Memorable Tranſactions of Italy *theſe twelve hundred years and upward: They have*

oftner than once reſcued it from the Barbarous Nations; their Reputation for great Generals has ſet them ſince on the Head of moſt of the conſiderable Armies of Lombardy, and no Blood has been more prodigally ſacrificed in their National Quarrels, than that of Eſté. Nor has Italy alone been the Theatre of their Glorious Actions, or the Seat of their Greatneſs; Germany is able to bear teſtimony of both. The Ancient Dukes of Bavaria, ſo famous in Hiſtory, were Princes of Eſté; and their Off-ſpring, the preſent Dukes of Brunſwick and Lunenburgh, who in Birth yield to no German, and who have had the Imperial Crown in their Family, yet ſeem to glory, Madam, in their being deſcended of Yours. To all this we muſt add the great Alliances by which the Princes of Your moſt Serene Family

have

have wiſely kept up their Grandeur, as appears by their matching into the Houſes of Auſtria, *of* France, *and of* Arragon, *and to moſt of the Royal Families of* Europe; *ſo that I may with much aſſurance ſay, That there is no Nobler Blood in* Chriſtendom *than what runs in Your Royal Highneſs's Veins, and that the Greatneſs of Your Birth is not inferiour to that of Your Condition, it being but ſutable that a Princeſs of a Family next in Dignity to thoſe of Crown'd heads, ſhould be ſet next a Throne.*

So great an Argument deſerved, I confeſs, to have been managed by a better Pen; yet how much ſoever it may ſuffer in my hands, I am infinitely beholden to the negligence of others, that reſerved to me the honour of paying You this Tribute, which I offer with all humility to Your Royal

Highneſs. If you vouchſafe it Your Gracious Acceptance, my Pains are exceſſively rewarded, and I ſhall hereafter glory in what I dare not yet own without raſhneſs; for ſeeing the work is more likely to loſe than gain reputation by ſo obſcure an Author, I have not the confidence to make my ſelf publick by any other Name, than that of being,

MADAM,

Your Royal Highneſs's

moſt humble, moſt obedient,

and moſt dutiful Servant.

THE PREFACE.

AS the Invention of Printing proved very Inſtrumental towards the reſcue of the world from the Ignorance which over-run it in former Ages; ſo the great exceſſes of the Preſs at preſent are like to give a deadly blow to all manner of Learning. When the hard purchaſe of good Manuſcripts had made, that Knowledge was long engroſſed into a few, and thoſe but ill hands; no wonder, if upon the Preſſes enlightning *Europe*, its productions were received with greedineſs: News from the Fairs of *Francfort* were then as curiouſly enquired after, as we in this Politick and buſie Age do after intrigues of State. Ancient Authors purged from the rubbiſh of illiterate Copiſts were publiſhed with great care; every year likewiſe brought forth

forth ſome new Piece of ſolid Learning, and our Fathers in little more than one Century retrieved what their Anceſtors had loſt in many.

But men grew ſoon weary of ſo much application, and reſolved either to attain unto Knowledge upon eaſier terms or not at all; whereupon the *French*, who pretend to give Laws to the world in every thing, have ſet up a modiſh ſort of compendious Learning, which requires no great ſtudy, as it gives no deep impreſſion; and thus have loaded us with a vaſt number of empty Books: and though it muſt be allowed they have given us ſome incomparable pieces of late upon ſeveral Arguments; yet theſe bearing no proportion in number to the others which are more commonly put into ſtrangers hands, they have the ill luck to paſs generally for ſuperficial Authors. In our Neighbour Nation the Politicks are ſo in vogue, and ſo much money and time is conſumed in them, that any thing of more valuable Learning is too much laid aſide: their Term Catalogues are ſtuffed with

with idle Pamphlets; it is thought but a barren week that brings not more than one Treatiſe to light; nay, I am informed they are now come to that pitch, that the Curious muſt be with their Bookſeller once a day to ſee what new things are come out that morning: and moſt of theſe like Muſhroms, as they are hatched in one day or week at moſt, ſo they ſeldom ſurvive another, and then like things antiquated and out of date, they are juſtly condemned for waſte paper. So that by the conſtant recruits of theſe ill digeſted pieces, which are ſet off with all the advantages of ſpecious Titles, men ſcarce know what to read; and many being drawn in by ſuch charms, and finding afterwards by their ill choice much of their time miſ-imploy'd, are too apt to conceive a prejudice againſt all Books. In ſhort, Printing being now a Trade upon which a great many others depend; and the Stationers who manage it, looking no further than their preſent advantage, there is juſt ground given us to apprehend, that this ungovern'd Licence

cence of the Preſs may bring the next Age under as great an averſion for Books, as the former had curioſity about them.

The world being thus overſtock'd in Authors, and moſt men thinking themſelves imperfect in their profeſſion till they make a ſhift to be in print, it may ſeem ſtrange that here among us We contribute ſo little towards this general abuſe, and are ſo far from this vanity, that like people bred long in the Countrey we have not confidence to appear in the croud, even when we are invited to it; but ſuffer the Preſs to lye idle, as if we were reſolved by our obſtinate ſilence to let the world grow unacquainted with us, and after this manner to loſe the reputation we once had for Learning and vivacity of Spirit.

When Learning was reſtored, and men began to have a more refined taſt of Books, our Nation produced ſome who did advance as early towards the ancient Purity of Writing as any other, the *Italians* only excepted. *Hector Boethius* if he had not

not been obſcured by greater Lights that came after him, had paſt for no ordinary man: It is true, his too much affecting to imitate *Livy*, put him often upon making long dull ſpeeches in Councils and Armies; and the humour of that age being no leſs for believing and reporting extravagant things than the Heathens were, he almoſt out-does *Livy* in relating unuſual, if not incredible events: yet with all that alloy it cannot be denied that he writ as well as any of his Contemporaries. Next to *Boethius* comes *Leſly*, whoſe temper and way of writing are excellent, only his ſtyle, though in the main ſtrokes it be good, yet in many places wants finiſhing, and is not altogether free from errours. *Buchanan* excelled not only all that went before him in his own Countrey, but had ſcarce his Equal in that Learned Age wherein he lived; he ſpent the firſt flame and rage of his fancy in Poetry, in which whether he did imitate *Virgil* in Heroicks, *Ovid* in Elegiacks, *Lucretius* in writing Philoſophy, *Seneca* in Tragedies, *Martial* in Epigrams, or *Horace* and

and *Juvenal* in Satyrs, he copied after thoſe great Maſters ſo perfectly, that nothing ever approached nearer the Original; and his Immortal Paraphraſe on the Pſalms doth ſhew, that neither the conſtraint of a limited matter, the darkneſs of expreſſion, nor the frequent returns of the ſame or the like phraſes could confine or exhauſt that vaſt Genius. At laſt, in his old age, when his thoughts were purified by long reflection and buſineſs, and a true judgment came in the room of one of the richeſt Fancies that ever was, he wrote our Hiſtory with ſuch beauty of ſtyle, eaſineſs of expreſſion, and exactneſs in all its parts, that no Service nor Honour could have been done the Nation like it, had he ended ſo Noble a Work as he began and carried it on till King *James* the fifth's death: but being unhappily engaged in a Faction, and reſentments working violently upon him, he ſuffered himſelf to be ſo ſtrangely byaſſed, that in the relations he gives of many of the tranſactions of his own time, he may rather paſs for a Satyriſt than an Hiſtorian:

ſtorian: Notwithſtanding this great blemiſh, few durſt venture to continue ſo elaborate a Work, or write of our Affairs after him; yet this muſt be ſaid of *Johnſton*, that nothing makes him ſo little conſidered as his coming after *Buchanan*. *Dempſter* was like to have eſcaped me, who of all others ſhews the greateſt zeal and induſtry in recovering every fragment of Antiquity, which may either help to illuſtrate the darker Ages of our Church, or raiſe the Glory of our Nation; but a ſtrain of bigottry that runs through every Line of him, doth much weaken his Authority amongſt us. In our own Language *Drummond*, if his inclinations to Poetry had not carried him too far in a florid way of writing, had been more deſervedly valued: But Arch-biſhop *Spotſwood* by affecting the other extream, and uſing an inimitable plainneſs of ſtyle, has ſomething in him that is great, and takes highly with all diſcerning people.

I only mention thoſe who have done themſelves and their Countrey credit by writing of our own Affairs; for

for if with the two *Barclays*, whom *France* doth envy us, and the wonderful *Creighton* whom *Italy* cheriſhed and admired as a ſecond *Picus*, I ſhould bring in thoſe of our Nation that have been eminently Learned in their ſeveral Profeſſions, they would make a pompous ſhew: But I confeſs I can take no pleaſure in numbering up our Glorious Anceſtors, or in boaſting of our paſt merits, being truly ſenſible how unhappy we have been of late. We meet with none of our refined Wits in the Courts abroad, nor of our Eminent Profeſſors in their Univerſities to welcom us in our travels, as formerly; and the learned men we have at home will only be known for ſuch to their friends in confidence, as if there were danger in their being diſcovered. And while the *French* and *Engliſh* by a fondneſs natural to moſt People, admire too much their own Writers; we ſeem to be without the reach of this temptation: for except one Noble Lawyer, whom his own Elegant Pen doth commend much beyond any thing I am able to ſay, and one Extraordinary

raordinary Divine, who having gratefully ſacrificed the firſt-fruits of his labours to his own Country, has ſince deſerved of our Neighbours to be advanced amongſt their choiceſt Hiſtorians; We have not, that I know of, any elſe whom we can with any reaſon admire. It may therefore be no improper part of a *Preface*, to conſider what ſhould bring us under ſuch a ſcarcity of Writers, when all other Nations ſeem to be cloyed with too great abundance.

I ſhould be thought an ill Apologiſt for my Country, and a worſe Arguer, to inſiſt much upon the coldneſs of the Climate, or the barrenneſs of the ſoil, which have been the ſame in our moſt flouriſhing condition: But there are two things remarkable in our preſent Circumſtances, which I ſhall preſume to offer, as the true reaſons of the decreaſe of Learned Writers amongſt us: The one is, that Divines, who have in all Ages been the chief Preſervers and Improvers of Knowledge, are here ſo unhappily diſtracted by the diviſions now on foot, that they have

no heart to undertake or advance any conſiderable deſign in Learning. When controverſies ariſe that give occaſion to great and ſolid debates, theſe quicken the induſtry of the contending Parties to diſcover ſuch things as may be for the advantage of their cauſe: but as our differences are ſuch as can never admit of a Learned Confutation, ſo there is no encouragement for any man to go about it who knows our preſent temper. For it is plain, that an obſtinate reſolution to continue the breach, ſcorns to yield to the ſtrongeſt conviction of reaſon; yet this unaccountable Schiſm has raiſed ſo violent heats, and brought our Clergy under ſuch contempt, that we cannot reaſonably expect great things from them; and which is indeed more deplorable, men of better Genius's, ſeeing the difficulties with which they ſtruggle, do follow other employments: ſo that if our condition be bad on this account in the preſent Age, it is like to be worſe in the next. Beſides, though great care has been taken in the Conſtitution of our Church

Church to preſerve the inferiour Clergy from poverty; yet there are not thoſe advantages of Books and privacy for encouraging extraordinary perſons in their ſtudies, with which other Nations abound.

But that which beyond all other things has ſet us ſo far back in learning, is our having no more the great incitements, which a Courts reſiding among us would afford: We do indeed rejoyce with our King that his Empire is ſo conſiderably enlarged by the acceſſion of a double Crown; we acknowledge alſo with all gratefull Duty, that our Princes indulgent tenderneſs for their Ancient and Native Kingdom ever ſince their departure, has made them carefull to continue to us our former happineſs in every thing ſave in their Royal preſence. They have left their Revenue to circulate among us for the ſupport of the Government, they have never given us up to the uneaſie domination of Strangers, under which we ſufficiently ſmarted in the ſhort time of our Union with *France*; we have been admitted to a ſhare in the beſt

Offices of *England* and *Ireland*, and made no ſmall part of our Princes Court; and if of late for want of paying our attendance there, we are not ſo frequently advanced to high Stations, yet we are ſenſible that all the truſts, honours and advantages of our own Countrey remain entire in our hands, ſo that no additional Kingdom, no not *Arragon* it ſelf, with all its high priviledges, has leſs reaſon to complain.

But after all this and much more that might be added of the Juſtice and Goodneſs of our three laſt Kings, which well deſerve the enlargements of a Nobler Pen, we are ſtill unhappy, becauſe deprived by our Princes abſence of all the advantages that accrew to Learning from the nearneſs of a Court: We have no foreign Miniſters among us, nor ſend we any beyond Sea, by which we might keep correſpondence with the world abroad; ſtrangers now have no occaſion to come within our borders and we ſeem to be in all reſpects cut off from the Society of Mankind: We complain not of Nature for caſting

us

us into a corner of the world, into a lean ſoil, and a Climate remote from the Sun; it is our Kings diſtance from us we more heartily lament than the Suns: His Anceſtors benign influence made us eaſie under all the inconveniencies Nature expoſed us to, and his perſon is a happineſs which we envy our Neighbours much more than their ſouthern ſituation. The chief reaſon then why we languiſh in Virtue, and the Muſes grow barren among us, is, becauſe of late we neither feel the dew, nor the warmth of Royal Patronage; for certainly nothing can give ſo effectual a check to great and aſpiring minds, or keep them from that generous Conteſt, who ſhall deſerve beſt of the Government by any Learned undertaking, as to ſee themſelves almoſt without the reach both of the Princes eye and of his hand.

Of all this the following Hiſtory gives us a ſignal inſtance. While *Ferrara* was happy in its Dukes and their Court, it was one of the Nobleſt places of *Italy*, Learning had ſuch encouragement there, that not only the Na-

tives saw their Interest in studying, but strangers from all places were attracted by the bounty of those Princes. When *Rome* did most shamefully neglect the *Greek* Professors, *Ferrara* and *Florence* cherished them, and to the glorious protection of the most Serene House of *Este*, and that of *Medici*, *Italy* chiefly owed its encrease of knowledge: But since by the Popes unjust usurpation *Ferrara* is turn'd an accessary principality to that which is called St *Peter's* Patrimony, the world hears no more news from thence; that University which was formerly so Famous is seldom now mentioned, and the spirits of the Inhabitants are sunk with their City almost into rubbish.

Having thus pointed at what a better Writer could more fully describe concerning the true causes of the decay of Learning amongst us, I now come to give an account of the Reasons and Design of my present undertaking. I observed that the *English* had taken care to furnish us by way of Translation with the general Histories of Countries, but lesser

Principalities

Principalities lay ſtill neglected, tho' in ſuch we often meet with curious and great tranſactions that are not commonly known. After I had therefore reſolved to make ſome attempt of this kind, my acquaintance with *Italian* Authors enclined me moſt to *Italy*, which has always been the Theatre of the moſt memorable Actions; and there the Princes of *Eſté* preſented themſelves as beſt deſerving my pains, in regard of the great influence they have had upon the Affairs of that Countrey for many Ages: but that which fully determined my choice was a hearty deſire of making ſome ſmall acknowledgement of the Honour which her Royal Highneſs the Dutcheſs of *Albany* now does our Nation; and I had reaſon to believe that nothing could be more gratefull to my Countrey-men, or more ſutable to the Veneration they have for her Highneſs, than an account of that Illuſtrious Race of Princes, of whom ſhe is deſcended. I have affected the ſimplicity of an Hiſtorical ſtyle, which next to fidelity and exactneſs, I look on as the

chief Ornament of ſuch a Work. After peruſing carefully all the Hiſtorians of the Family, I chiefly conſulted *Sigonius*, *Jovius* and *Guicciardin*, and found ſome trouble in digeſting my matter into ſo ſhort a compaſs. If I am approved of by judicious or diſcerning perſons, ſo that this Eſſay is favourably received, it will encourage me to go on with the ſecond part, where together with what immediately relates to the Dukes of *Modena*, I ſhall take occaſion to treat more largely than hitherto I have done, of what has paſt of late in thoſe parts; but if I have the luck to be little read, or much cenſured, as this is my firſt Eſſay, ſo it is like to be my laſt.

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THE HISTORY OF THE House of Eſté.

CHAP. I.

The riſe of the Houſe of Eſté, and the ſhare it bore in the great Occurrences of Italy, *during the Invaſions of the* Huns, Vandals, Alains, Herules, *and* Oſtrogoths.

NEAR the Euganean Hills, betwixt *Verona* and *Padoua*, lyes *Eſté*, a place of ſome account with the *Romans*, but better known ſince their times for giving the denomination to the moſt illuſtrious Family of which I am now to treat. The *Atii* if we

give credit to antient Records, retired from *Rome* while yet a Republick, and ſetling here, laid the foundation of their future Greatneſs under the Emperours long before the barbarous Nations attempted the Conqueſt of *Italy*. But leſt by going too far back we be apt to miſtake the way, where ſo few footſteps remain to direct us, I ſhall begin only about the middle of the fifth Century, whence the proſpect downward is clearer; and do judge this ſufficient to aſſert the antiquity of the Houſe of *Eſté*, without borrowing the help of doubtful conjectures to raiſe it higher.

Anno Chriſti 452. The News of *Atila's* March towards *Italy*, made thoſe who were moſt in danger, think of putting themſelves in ſome poſture of defence; and the general rendezvous being appointed at *Padoua*, the firſt man that appeared there with any conſiderable Train, was *Foreſtus* of *Eſté*, whoſe forwardneſs we find rewarded with the Command of the Forces ſent to relieve *Aquileia*. In his March thither he put ſixteen thouſand *Huns* to flight, by whom *Atila* having notice of his approach,

approach, and gueſſing at his Deſign, did what he could to prevent him: But *Foreſtus*, animated by his former ſucceſs, forced his paſſage through ſome part of the Army, and got ſafe into the City with the choiceſt of his Troops. His courage and vigilance at firſt diſappointed *Atila* in all his attempts, till in a Sally, by the treachery of ſome of his Souldiers, he was drawn into an ambuſh, where it is believed he fell by *Atila*'s own hand.

His Son *Acarinus* equally concerned to defend his Countrey, and revenge *Foreſtus*'s death, brought ſuch ſupplies to the beſieged as help'd to delay the Fate of the City; but famine and the Beſiegers obſtinacy cutting off at length all hopes of deliverance, after a long and vigorous reſiſtance they retired by night to *Grado*, where they were ſcarce well arrived, when the flames began to appear that in a few hours buried *Aquileia* in its Aſhes, as a laſting Monument of *Atila*'s cruelty.

The next place of importance after *Aquileia* was *Altinum*, built upon the Brink of the *Adriatick*, which *Atila*

preſently gave order to block up: yet his great expedition could not keep *Acarinus* from ſupplying it with men and proviſion, nor from going thither in perſon to ſee that nothing were wanting for its defence: but finding all endeavours prove ineffectual, he got together what Boats and Shallops the neighbouring Villages afforded and conveyed the Inhabitants ſafe to the Iſlands of *Boran*, *Mazorbo* and *Torcello*, leaving the bare Walls to the mercy of the Conquerour who treated *Altinum* as he had done *Aquileia*.

Thoſe of *Treviſo*, *Padoua*, and *Vicenza*, not willing to truſt *Atila*'s clemency, nor yet in a condition to reſiſt him, were adviſed by *Acarinus* to ſhelter themſelves at *Malamoco* and ſeveral other little Iſlands near enough to be furniſhed with neceſſaries from the Land, and yet ſecure from the *Huns* attacks; and he himſelf perceiving how ſucceſsful he had been in adviſing his Neighbours, thought it high time to provide for the ſafety of thoſe who were more immediately under his care and protection, returning there-

therefore to *Eſté* before the *Huns* could reach it, he conducted his people to *Paleſtrina*, and *Chiozza*, near the mouth of the *Po*.

Every place afterwards yielding to *Atila's* victorious Army, the Country was ſoon over-run; and he loaded with the ſpoils of ſo many Cities, thought fit to go home, and diſburthen himſelf, reſolving to return the next year; but a ſudden Death occaſioned, as ſome ſay, by poiſon; or as others, by drunkenneſs; put a ſtop to this torrent, freed *Italy* from the apprehenſion of a ſecond invaſion, and the World from ſuch a ſcourge of Gods wrath as former Ages had not felt.

This drew *Acarinus* back to *Eſté* with thoughts to repair the Walls, had not freſh troubles diverted him. The Empreſs, full of reſentment againſt *Maximus* for procuring the death of her Husband *Valentinian* the III. called in *Genſerick* King of the *Vandals*, who waited only for ſuch an invitation. Whereever the *Vandals* came they left greater marks of their cruelty than ever the *Huns* had

done; the only comfort was, they made no long ſtay, but went back into *Africk*, and in requital of the Empreſſes kindneſs carried her and her two Daughters with them as Trophees of their Victory.

Italy had not time to breathe after ſuch a terrible blow when the *Alains* who had hitherto contained themſelves in *France* and *Spain*, croſs'd the
461. *Alpes* to ſeize upon what the *Vandals* had left; the people therefore whom *Acarinus* had made retire unto the Iſlands of the *Adriatick*, finding things every day grow worſe, choſe rather to ſtruggle with the inconveniences of thoſe barren habitations than to be expoſed to freſh dangers; and then did the repeated Calamities of *Italy* give the firſt beginnings to the City and Republick of *Venice*, which have ſince prov'd its greateſt Ornament, as well as the maintainer of its Liberty: So that in this alone *Italy* muſt own it ſelf ſufficiently rewarded for what it then ſuffered, and all may here trace the admirable methods of Divine Providence, which made uſe of thoſe barbarous Nations to raiſe this bulwark

wark for after Ages againſt the encroaching greatneſs of the *Ottoman* Power, more formidable to *Italy* and to all *Chriſtendom* than ever were *Huns*, *Vandals* or *Alains*.

But to return to *Acarinus*, his merit was now too well known to be long without employment. *Severianus* the Emperour having raiſed an Army to chaſe away the *Alains*, made *Richimer* Commander in chief, and *Acarinus* General of the Horſe, the next place in dignity and truſt under him; and in this he did behave himſelf ſo well, that the ſucceſs of that great battel near *Bergamo*, in which the King of the *Alains* was kill'd, his Army irrecoverably loſt, and *Italy* thereby once more freed from ſlavery was chiefly due to *Acarinus*'s conduct. Whereupon he was made Governour of all beyond the River *Atheſis*, as the fitteſt perſon to guard the Frontiers againſt the barbarous Nations which commonly made their inroads that way. 471.

All the reſt of his life he enjoy'd this great truſt which few had either merit or courage to aſpire to; at laſt

Odoacer King of the *Herules* considering to what a weak pass the Empire was brought, ventured to tread the footsteps of the *Alains*, and found *Acarinus* ready to oppose him. After several skirmishes they came to a general Engagement, not far from *Lode*, where *Acarinus*, over-powered by number, and refusing to yield, sealed all his generous undertakings for his Country with his life. He being killed, *Odoacer* met with little more resistance; but having taken *Augustulus* Prisoner, he became Master of *Italy*. And thus was the Western Empire utterly abolished, which by Foreign Invasions and Civil Broils had been in a languishing condition of a long time.

Acarinus had two Wives, the former was *Gardena* Queen of *Damascus*, who accompanying *Atila* in his Expedition was perswaded to exchange her Crown for the Christian Religion. By her he had *Atius*, so named from his Family; and by a second Wife he had *Constantius*.

Though *Odoacer*'s Government proved more gentle than was expected,

ed, yet *Atius* (or *Azo*, a great name ſince in the Houſe of *Eſté*) and his Brother *Conſtantius*, not thinking themſelves ſecure, retired into *Germany*; and coming into the Court of *Theodo* Duke of *Bavaria*, had a reception from him full of reſpect and kindneſs, 481.
which he afterwards confirmed by the Marriage of his Daughter to *Azo*.

When *Zeno* was created Emperor of the Eaſt, as he was concerned for his Title to *Italy*, though not able to make it good, ſo being willing likewiſe to find employment for a Warlike Prince abroad, whom he look'd upon as a dangerous Neighbour, he declared *Theodorick* King of the *Oſtrogoths* his General againſt *Odoacer*. *Theodorick* clothed in this Expedition with the Emperours Authority found many Friends, and none more zealous than *Azo* and *Conſtantius*. In the three ſeveral Battles where *Odoacer* was overthrown, and at the Siege of *Ravenna*, where he was glad to yield up a part of his Kingdom to ſave the reſt. Theſe two Brothers were emi- 491.
nently ſerviceable to *Theodorick*; and as he had found them moſt active in his

his Eſtabliſhment, ſo in his long and glorious Reign none ſhared deeper in his favour and bounty than both of them did.

In the life of *Azo* we find little afterwards remarkable, but his Brothers laſt action, far ſurpaſſed all that he had formerly done. For when *Theodatus* impriſoned *Amalaſuntha Theodorick's* Daughter, *Conſtantius* mind-
534. ful of his obligations to that Family, uſed all poſſible means for her eſcape; which the Tyrant ſuſpecting, thought not himſelf ſecure till he put her to death. This did ſo affect *Conſtantius*, that he ſent immediately to *Juſtinian* the Emperour to give him an account of the tragical end of the innocent Queen, and to implore his aid againſt the Murtherer, aſſuring him of his and his friends aſſiſtance, if he would eſpouſe ſo juſt a cauſe. The Emperour embracing the invitation, invaded *Italy*, and *Conſtantius* who made good his promiſe, had the ſatisfaction to ſee *Theodatus* dethron'd and kill'd. With much ado he eſcaped the fury of *Vitiges*, who lookt upon him as the chief Author of this war, and liv'd not

not long enough to ſee the progreſs *Belliſarius* made. 539.

Baſilius his Son, and *Boniface* his Coſen, who accompanied *Belliſarius* in his firſt expedition, were upon his being recalled in danger of falling into *Totila*'s hands; nor do we hear any more of them till *Narſes* came to accompliſh what *Belliſarius* had twice begun. The reputation it ſeems of this General encouraged them to take Armes, for both of them aſſiſted in that great battel where *Totila* was kill'd, and the *Goths* overthrown; and here *Boniface* fighting valiantly upon the Head of the Auxiliary Troops received a wound of which he ſoon after dyed, leaving his Son *Valerian* with his Coſen *Baſilius*, to help *Narſes* in proſecuting this War, which ended in the extirpation of the Eaſtern *Goths* after they had reigned above ſeventy two years in *Italy*. 553.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Progreſs of the Family under the Reign of the Lombards.

BAſilius and *Valerian* ſeeing *Italy* thus reunited to the Empire after ſo long a Train of miſeries, were expecting to taſte the fruits of peace and of *Narſes*'s bounty, when on a ſudden the *Lombards*, a people not yet known in the Weſtern Parts of
568. the World, threatened them with a new Storm. Here the Greek and Latine Hiſtorians do much differ; for theſe in relating the cauſe of the *Lombard*'s invaſion fix it upon *Narſes*, who after having recovered *Italy* to the Emperour, expected to receive a treatment ſuitable to his merit; but *Juſtin* the Second, governed by his Empreſs, as *Juſtinian* had been all along by *Theodora*, ſlighted the ſervice which he could not ſufficiently reward, and was ſo ill adviſed as to make known his diſpleaſure againſt *Narſes* before his return: whereupon *Narſes*,

Narſes, as the Latines write, called in the *Lombards*; but, grieved for what he had done, dyed before their arrival. The Greeks, who allow great weakneſs and ingratitude in the Emperour's carriage in ſuffering a General to be expoſed to the affronts of his Empreſs and her Women, who had deſerved ſo well the honour of a triumph, with every thing elſe that the Emperour could do in acknowledgment of his extraordinary merit; ſay nothing of his being privy to the *Lombard*'s Deſign: but on the contrary highly extol the prudence, courage and piety of *Narſes*, which certainly they would never have done, had they known his laſt action to be ſo black.

Whoever they were that betrayed *Italy* to the *Lombards*, we are ſure *Baſilius* and *Valerian* of *Eſté* had no hand in it, they being the only perſons who had the courage with a few Followers to ſtop *Alboinus* in his paſſage. In this they followed the example of their glorious Anceſtor *Foreſtus*, but came ſhort of his ſucceſs; for their Forces bearing no proportion to

to the *Lombards* in number, they were glad to give way to *Alboinus*'s Fortune, and make the beſt terms for themſelves and their Subjects they could. And as the Country which ſubmitted to this Yoke has ever ſince been known by the name of *Lombardy*; ſo *Italy* upon the other ſide of the *Apennin* muſt have expected no better Fate, had not the Queen for being forced to drink out of her Fathers Scull, ſeaſonably revenged this barbarous affront by the death of her Huſband *Alboinus*, before he could finiſh his Conqueſt. 574.

Clephis, who ſucceeded him, was likewiſe killed after eighteen Months Reign, and the *Lombards*, not agreeing upon a new choice, divided their whole Dominion among thirty of their chief Officers with the title of Dukes. *Baſilius* and *Valerian*, glad to ſee them cantoniz d after this manner, got together a ſmall Army, with which they fought *Agiſulphus* Duke of *Friuli*, who narrowly eſcaped being made Priſoner upon the defeat of his Army. The neighbouring Dukes, of *Trent*, *Bergamo* and *Breſcia*, alarmed

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at this ſucceſs, and jealous of their growth, enter'd into a confederacy joyntly to oppoſe them in all their motions; this put a preſent ſtop to *Baſilius* and *Valerians* proceedings. 585.

The Emperour *Juſtin* not able of himſelf to give the *Lombards* great diſturbance, took occaſion from their late incurſions into *France*, to engage that Nation againſt them; but the behaviour of the *French* in this action, did neither anſwer their forwardneſs nor the opinion the world had of them, for they ſcarce enduring one charge of the *Lombards*, turn'd their backs, and left many of their Chief Officers dead upon the place: among the reſt we find *Valerian* of *Eſté* here loſt his life, fighting for the Liberty of his Countrey, as his Father *Boniface* had done many years before in the War of *Narſes* againſt the *Goths*.

The Family having loſt *Valerian*, his Son ſucceeded him, before he was either by age or experience qualified to Govern; for *Baſilius* by what we can learn, was then dead or unfit for action. *Agiſulphus* Duke of *Friuli* mindfull of the defeat given 594.

him

him by *Valerian* judged it now no hard matter to be revenged upon his Son. *Montſelice* which belonged to the Family of *Eſté*, and which of all the places in that part of *Italy*, could only boaſt of never having received a *Lombard* within its walls, was the prize he aim'd at: but young *Aldoardus* Heir to *Valerian*'s courage as well as his fortune, did ſo bravely defend it, that *Agiſulphus* retired with confuſion, leaving the place to the juſt owner.

This Action which ſufficed to have raiſed *Aldoardus*'s reputation, was in a ſhort time back'd with many other proofs of his valour and conduct; at
626. length *Ariovaldus* King of the *Lombards* (the Monarchy being again reſtored) knowing how to value *Aldoardus*'s friendſhip ſatisfied him in all his pretenſions; and further to unite *Aldoardus* to his Intereſts, gave him the Duke of *Fruili*'s Daughter in marriage. *Aldoardus* by this means freed from the apprehenſion in which his Anceſtors had lived ever ſince the firſt Invaſion of the *Goths*, paſt the reſt of his time in great tranquillity,

quillity, and dying without Children left his Cozen *Eribert* heir to a plentifull fortune.

All the Family of *Eſté* had been bred up in Arms except *Eribert*, whoſe inclinations ſutable to his Education were all for peace. This the *Lombards* well underſtood, and were ready to put the deſign in practice which they had been long hatching againſt him, but happily his death prevented it, and made way for his Son *Erneſtus*, who reſolv'd not to part on ſo eaſie terms as his Father was like to have done, with what his Anceſtors had purchaſed ſo dear: the *Lombards* ſeeing the occaſion loſt, thought fit to compoſe all differences, and to renew with *Erneſtus* the friendſhip formerly made with *Aldoardus*. 663. 694.

About this time the *Sclavonians* were formidable to all their Neighbours, infeſting daily the Coaſts of the *Adriatick*, and making incurſions into *Friuli* with ſuch numbers, that many were afraid it would in a ſhort time come to a form'd Invaſion: The *Lombards* had an Army ſufficient to oppoſe them, but either 711.

becauſe they had no perſon among them fitly qualified, or becauſe the enterprize was ſo dangerous that all their Captains declin'd it: *Erneſtus* was choſen General, and did diſcharge this great truſt much to the ſatisfaction of thoſe that employ'd him, for having beaten the *Sclavonians* in ſeveral battles, he brought them to the *Lombards* terms.

This ſucceſs removed the *Lombards* jealouſies of a Foreign Power, yet while *Ravenna* had an Imperial Garriſon under an Exarch, as an Evidence of the Emperours Title to what they poſſeſs'd, there wanted not matter for fears: here was kept a fire which though ſtifled at preſent might one day break out to their deſtruction; and therefore they thought their Arms could not be better employ'd than in reducing it; but *Erneſtus*, inſtead of countenancing this
718. deſign immediately declared for the Emperour, and help'd to defend *Ravenna.*

Gregory the ſeconds bold Uſurpa-
726. tion in pretending to free *Italy* from any Soveraignty *Leo Iſaurus* had o-

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ver it, becauſe that Emperour fiercely oppoſed the worſhip of Images, which *Gregory* was then introducing, proved more favourable to the *Lombards* deſigns, for by this unjuſt ſentence the Emperours Miniſters were caſt out of moſt places, and that ſhadow of Authority left him, was quite loſt, and they encouraged to undertake the ſiege of *Ravenna* the ſecond time: But miſcarrying again in their attempt, they ſet upon *Rimini*, which they had ſcarce well inveſted when a *Venetian* Army under the Conduct of *Erneſtus* gave them battel, and after a hot diſpute forced them to retire with great loſs, leaving their Kings Nephew priſoner to be led by *Erneſtus* in triumph to *Venice*. 740.

All theſe diſappointments did more enflame the *Lombards* againſt *Ravenna*, upon which the fate of *Rimini* and the other places under the Emperour depended. And *Erneſtus* judging it the true intereſt of *Italy* that the Emperour ſhould keep this Key to open a paſſage for his Army when ever the occaſions of his Friends required it, did earneſtly ſollicite the

Pope to repeal the ſevere ſentence he had paſt, and to come to ſome accommodation with the Emperour, leſt the *Lombards* taking advantage of their difference, might e're long become Maſters of that Important place which hitherto had kept them from faſtening their chains harder upon *Italy*. But no arguments how weighty ſoever, being able to work upon the Popes obſtinacy, unleſs the Emperour would conſent to the erecting Images in *Santa Sophia* at *Conſtantinople*, as he himſelf had done in St *Peters* at *Rome*; *Erneſtus* made haſt to *Ravenna*, where the *Lombards* were aſſembling themſelves from all hands; nor did he ever abandon
752. the place during its long and cloſe ſiege of almoſt three years, till an arrow from the Enemies Camp killing him out-right, opened a breach for them to enter upon the poſſeſſion of what they had long toil'd for.

The fatal conſequence of the Popes unjuſt dealing with the Emperour, was the ſame that *Erneſtus* had foretold; for the *Lombards* being now abſolute Maſters, grew inſupportable under

under King *Aſtolphus*; nor did any find their yoke heavier than the Popes, who well deſerv'd it by cutting off that arm which was moſt likely to protect them, and it was remarkable, that God prolong'd the injured Emperours life, till he received the news of the *Lombards* having ſack'd *Rome*, and in requital of *Gregory* the ſeconds favours, carried away all the Images of Saint *Peters* Church, which his ſuperſtitious zeal had with exceſſive charge there placed. Nor is it to be doubted, but *Leo's* prejudice againſt Images was more confirmed when he perceived the hand of God viſibly joyn with him in oppoſing them. After his death his Son *Conſtantine Copronymus*, though earneſtly courted by the Pope, yet could never be brought to meddle with the affairs of *Italy*, being mindfull of the ill uſage *Leo* had met with; but *France* was more 755.
eaſily wrought upon, and *Pepin* began the War with his Son *Charles* the *Great*, finiſhed by the deſtruction of the *Lombard* Monarchy, renewing the Weſtern Empire in himſelf and his family.

CHAP. III.

The advancement of the Family under Charles *the* Great *and his Succeſſors, until the ſettlement of the Imperial Crown upon* Otho *the firſt.*

DUring *Pepin*'s Invaſion we find no mention of *Henry* the Son, or as ſome Writers will have him, the Grand-child of *Erneſtus*; the only War I obſerve from *Atila* down to this time, in which we cannot prove, that any of the Houſe of *Eſté* had part. Seeing the Hiſtorians ſilence leaves us to our conjectures, it ſeems moſt probable that the unhappy death of *Erneſtus*, and the incontroulable Power of the *Lombards* after they got *Ravenna*, might keep *Henry* from engaging till he had a certain proſpect of their ruine; and therefore when *Charles* the *Great* came, he firſt appeared upon the head of the *Venetian* Troops ſent to aſſiſt the *French* againſt the *Lombards*. *Erneſtus* had been formerly their General at *Rimini*, which made them

them the more willing now to employ *Henry:* Nor could he decline ſo fair an occaſion of being revenged upon the *Lombards.*

How well *Henry* behaved himſelf in this War, or how much his own merit, joined to that of his Family, made him regarded. can beſt be proved by *Charles the Great*'s Bounty to him, after *Deſiderius* King of the *Lombards* was taken Priſoner, and the Army diſmiſs'd: For beſides the confirmation of what he formerly poſſeſt, he had *Treviſo* given him, the Country alſo of *Scodoſia*, with the Title of Count, and his Son *Berengarius* was invited to Court, as the fitteſt place for his education. 774.

No ſooner was the Emperour gone, but thoſe who retained any kindneſs for the *Lombards* began to hatch new Projects how to reſtore *Adalgiſius* the Son of *Deſiderius* to his Fathers Throne. The great Contriver of this was *Rodigaud* Duke of *Friuli*, who being jealous of their placing *Henry* at *Treviſo* upon the Skirts of his Country, as a Spy upon his actions, concluded that nothing could be done

till he were diſpatched; by the Dukes inſtigation then the factious Party in *Treviſo* pretending the breach of ſome priviledges, ſuddenly took Armes, kill'd *Henry*, impriſoned his Wife and Children, and forc'd thoſe of his Train to leave the Town. Their ſucceſs here gave encouragement to inſurrections in other places; ſo that it was like to have broken out into an open Rebellion, had not the Emperours return confirmed his Authority, and given him occaſion to enquire into the Authors of ſuch practices.

Rodigaud being found guilty of the Murther of *Henry*, loſt his head, thoſe of *Treviſo* were ſeverely dealt with, *Henry*'s Wife and Children were ſet at liberty; and to ſecure the peace of that Country, *Berengarius*, *Henry*'s Son, being high now in the Emperours favour, was left in his Fathers place, and did in every thing anſwer the good opinion the Emperour conceived of his zeal and fitneſs for his ſervice.

While *Berengarius* lived at the Emperours Court, his winning carriage made

made him to be highly regarded by all, and particularly by Prince *Lewis* the Emperours Son, who, ſucceeding *Charles the Great*, invited *Berengarius* into *France*. At his arrival he found the purple had no way changed the Princes former inclinations; and after ſome ſtay at Court, an occaſion was offered by which he was aſſured of the Emperours confidence in him, and the Emperour likewiſe of his fidelity. *Charles the Great* had declared his Grand-child *Bernard* King of *Italy*, but he being young and ambitious, ſuffered himſelf to be perſwaded by his Favourites, That the Imperial Crown did of right belong to him, as the Son of *Lewis*'s Elder Brother. This, with the invitations ſent him from the diſaffected Party in *France*, did ſoon engage him in a War againſt his Unkle. Upon the News of *Bernard*'s March towards *France*, the Emperour, who was jealous of moſt about him, gave the Command of his Army to *Berengarius* Count of *Eſté*, who, without hazarding a Battel, being afraid of the treachery of his under-Officers, who 814.

either

either were or eaſily could be corrupted, did ſo manage the buſineſs that King *Bernard*, diſappointed of the *French* that were to join him, and abandoned by moſt of thoſe he brought from *Italy*, was perſwaded by *Berengarius* to come in perſon to the Emperours Court, there to owne his raſhneſs, and to humble himſelf to his Unkle; But the barbarous uſage he had, did much leſſen the Glory of *Berengarius*'s action: For the poor Prince, when he expected only a gentle rebuke, and leave to return home,
818. was caſt into a loathſom Priſon, after many indignities had his eyes put out, and died in three days, partly through pain, partly through anguiſh. Indeed his Fate was deplorable, being inconſiderately hurried upon his own ruine, when he had ſcarce compleated the 19th year of his Age; and though the Emperour thought this inſtance of his ſeverity upon his Nephew and his Followers, who were all treated after the ſame manner, did ſecure his Crown, yet he found by woful experience that it irrecoverably loſt him the affections of his people.

Upon

Upon King *Bernard*'s death the Emperours Son *Lotharius* was ſent into *Italy*, and becauſe he was young and not acquainted with the cuſtoms of the Countrey. *Berengarius* by his Fathers Order did accompany him thither, to adviſe him in all affairs of moment. *Berengarius*, proving more uſeful to the Emperour in *Italy* than he could be elſewhere, continued there ſeveral years; and by his credit ordered things as he pleaſed. Some ſparks of jealouſie afterwards appearing betwixt the Emperour and his Children, were induſtriouſly blown up into a Civil War by thoſe who could never forgive King *Bernard*'s death. *Berengarius*, ever true to the Emperours intereſt, upon the firſt report of his danger made what haſte he could towards him, yet came too late; for the Emperour was already ſtrip'd of his power, and confin'd to a Monaſtery, where they intended he ſhould have paſt the reſt of his time in expiating by a rigid penance the crimes he ſtood accuſed of. 583.

If they had dealt more gently with him, it is likely he had never been able

ble to weather ſo violent a ſtorm; but however ſtrange it may ſeem, his being brought ſo very low was the occaſion of his ſpeedy re-eſtabliſhment. For that popular fury which at firſt he could not withſtand, was preſently turned to compaſſion, and the Emperour again put in a condition to call his Sons to an account while they were at variance among themſelves. We have reaſon to believe this unexpected change was not wrought without *Berengarius*: For we find he had no inclination to return again into *Italy*, where *Lotharius* governed, but ſpent the reſt of his life at Court, had his ſhare in thoſe troubles which came thick upon the Emperour in his latter days, and died
840. at *Paris* with the repute of one of the wiſeſt and greateſt Captains of his Age. It was indeed his misfortune to be the chief Inſtrument in King *Bernard*'s ruine, which if he had foreſeen, no doubt he would have declined the employment.

He left his Son *Otho* ſo young that he never appeared at the Court of *Lotharius*, who beſides had no kindneſs

neſs for his Family; but when his Son *Lewis* the Second came to the Empire, *Otho* got as much into his favour as *Berengarius* had done into that of *Charles the Great*, or of *Lewis* his Son. He had been trained up in Military Diſcipline under his Father, for which the Emperour made him General of the Horſe; and this charge requiring his conſtant attendance at Court, the management of his affairs in *Italy* was left to his friends. He had the City and Territory of *Commachio* given him as a reward of his and his fathers ſervices done to the Imperial Crown; which is evident by the Grant from the Emperour yet to be ſeen among the antient records of *Eſté*. Nor doth this a little aggravate the injuſtice of *Clement* the 8th to the family of *Eſté*, who ſeizing upon the Dutchy of *Ferrara* in the Year 1598. upon a pretended devolution took from them at the ſame time the City of *Commachio* with its Territory, which they only ow'd to the Emperours bounty, and to which the Pope or Church could not pretend any Title: but truly the carri- 856.

age

age of *Clement* in this whole buſineſs was moſt illegal and tyrannical, as I queſtion not, before I conclude this Hiſtory, to make appear to all who are not highly partial.

The *Venetians* who were ever jealous of their growing Neighbours, did what they could to keep *Otho*'s Son *Marinus* from taking poſſeſſion of *Commachio*; and failing in this employed freſh arts to thruſt him out. *Marinus* heard of their practices, and had ſecret information that the *Doge*'s Brother was to paſs within a few miles of *Commachio*, in his way to *Rome*, to treat with the Pope about it: *Marinus* to prevent this, took a raſh and injuſtifiable courſe; for having laid wait for the Ambaſſadour, he brought him to the City, and made him there ſwear, that neither he nor his Brother ſhould ever attempt any thing in prejudice of *Commachio* or of what belong'd to his Father.

The *Venetians* highly reſenting the affront they here received in the perſon of the Ambaſſadour, ſent immediately their Navy againſt *Commachio*, which being ill provided, could

could not long hold out, *Marinus* retir'd firſt to *Ferrara*, then into *France*, where having given an account to his Father of what had happen'd, he ſoon after fell ſick and died. But the Emperour concern'd to make good to *Otho* what he had given him, did by his Authority, compoſe the difference with the *Venetians*, ſaw him poſſeſt of *Commachio*, and renewed the antient friendſhip betwixt the Republick and the family of *Eſté*. 874.

Whether *Otho* continued in the ſame ſtation at Court, after the death of *Lewis* the ſecond, we cannot certainly learn; but it is plain he lived to the latter end of the Reign of *Carolus Craſſus*. He was married to 887. the Duke of *Friuli*'s Daughter, by whom he had four Sons, two of which were *Ubertus* and *Sigifred*: the Saracens had long infeſted *Italy*, and never wanted encouragement from ſuch as preferred the revenge of their private quarrels, to the weal of their Country. Moſt of the Cities put themſelves under the protection of ſome perſon of courage and intereſt, which made *Parma*, and *Luca* chuſe *Sigifred*, they

they of *Luca* had ſuffered much of late by thoſe Infidels, whom *Albericus* Marqueſs of *Toſcany* had call'd in out of Malice to the Pope, upon condition they would not meddle with any of his Subjects; but as ſoon as *Sigifred* was engaged, both *Luca* and *Parma* found themſelves as much out of danger, as thoſe that belong'd to *Albericus* did, and upon much more honourable terms owing their ſafety wholly to their Generals courage, without making that baſe contract of freeing their own Eſtates at the charge of their Neighbours. *Ubertus* was Count of *Eſté* and *Commachio*, the Hiſtory of whoſe life the writers of that age, have thought fit to leave us in a few, yet ſo weighty words, that if there were extant a perfect Journal of his actions, we could not thence form a more glorious Panegyrick or a compleater Idea of his worth, 'he treated always his Subjects, ſay they 'with the ſame tenderneſs, as if they 'had been his Children, by which 'he did ſo gain upon their affections, 'that they were rather loth than a-'fraid to offend him, and his diſcreet 'indul-

indulgence preſerved his Authority more than ſeverity could have done.

Italy reaped no benefit by its union with *France*; the Imperial Crown had of late been ſet upon ſome Heads that did ill fit it: For the Race of *Charles the Great* was ſtrangely degenerate, and almoſt ſpent; the late Emperour *Carolus Craſſus*, who at firſt filled the Empire with the expectation of an extraordinary Prince, was afterwards laid aſide for inſufficiency, and brought ſo low as not to have a ſervant left him, nor any thing allowed for his maintenance except what flowed from the Biſhop of *Mentz*'s Charity. *Arnulphus* who came after him found more buſineſs in *Germany* than he could well deal with; and *Lewis* of *Provence* was making haſte towards *Pavia*, nothing doubting the Conqueſt of *Italy*. Moſt of the *Italians* therefore being weary of a Foreign Yoke began to think of chuſing a Prince of their own Nation, a bleſſing they had not enjoyed of many Ages. *Vido* Duke of *Spoletum*, and *Berengarius* Duke of *Friuli* both deſcended of *Charles the Great* by

their Mothers, thought their quality equal, and their title better than that of *Lewis*, whom they forced to return into *France*, and agreed the matter ſo, that *Vido* ſhould be Emperour, and *Berengarius* King of *Italy*.

890. *Vido* miſcarrying in his attempt fell out with *Berengarius*, diſpoſſeſſed him of all, and *Berengarius*, with ſome of his moſt truſty friends, among whom was *Ubertus* Count of *Eſté*, took Sanctuary at the Court of *Arnulphus*, whom he engaged in a War againſt *Vido*: At their coming into *Italy* they found *Vido* dead, and his Son *Lambertus* in his place; and after great variety of ſucceſſes, and much blood-ſhed, *Berengarius* was again reſtored; but before he was ſetled, had new diſturbance given him from

899. *Lewis* of *Provence*, countenanced by the Marqueſs of *Tuſcany*, who could not endure to ſee any *Italian* greater than himſelf, and by the Marqueſs of *Eporœdia*, though he had married *Giſcla* the Daughter of *Berengarius*. Notwithſtanding all their endeavours *Berengarius* had the better, and made *Lewis* enter into a ſolemn vow, never

to

to return more into *Italy*: Afterwards *Lewis* not valuing this oath, which he ſaid was extorted, undertook a third invaſion, in which his ſucceſs did juſtly anſwer his perfidy; for being taken priſoner, according to the barbarous reſentment of that age, he had his eyes put out. 903.

Berengarius as ſoon as he was eas'd of the fears of ſo dangerous a Rival, diſpoſed of what he could among his friends, and none had a larger ſhare either in his bounty or affection than *Ubertus*, who never had deſerted him in all his troubles. *Ubertus* by his laſt Will committed his Son *Albertus* to the Kings care and protection, which thing ſucceeded happily to the Family; for *Giſcla* the Kings Daughter being divorced from the Marqueſs of *Eporœdia* her former husband, for his ſiding with *Lewis* of *Provence*, was given in marriage to *Albertus*.

The ancient root of *Eſté* was at this time conſpicuous in its branches, *Sigiſred* whom I mention'd before, was ſtill alive, both lov'd and obey'd by thoſe of *Luca* and *Parma*, which were grown conſiderable under his

Government. *Almericus* Couſin German to *Albertus* was invited to *Ferrara* to be Rector, for ſo they named the Chief Magiſtrate in that City; but his equity in the deciſion of all their differences, and his zeal in uniting them in one common intereſt, prevailed upon them ſo far, that they ſoon abrogated the Office of Rector as too mean and precarious, and declared him their Prince. *Giſcla* had alſo enrich'd the Family, with two Sons *Hugo* and *Azo*, and a Daughter, who was afterwards married to *Petrus Candianus* Dogé of *Venice*.

Albertus being thus happy in his Kinſmen, happy in his Off-ſpring, and above all, in his Father in Law, left the world in good time before the
923. ſcene changed: For *Berengarius* after twenty years glorious reign was murdered at *Verona*, and leaving no Male Iſſue, *Berengarius*, *Giſcla*'s Son by her former husband laid claim to his Grandfathers Crown. The Princes of *Italy* having no great Opinion of his merit, being unwilling likewiſe to ſubmit to one of the ſame rank with themſelves, call'd in *Rodolphus* King of

of *Burgundy*; preſently weary of *Rodolphus*, they ſent to *Hugo* of *Arles*, with whom *Rodolphus* adjuſted all differences, by giving his Daughter *Adeleidis* to *Lotharius Hugo's* Son, and 948.
to him reſign'd his pretenſions to *Italy*. *Lotharius* prov'd but a weak Prince, and this put *Berengarius* again in a condition to diſpute his Title, which he did to ſo good purpoſe, that getting the Power into his hands he left *Lotharius* only the empty name, nor did he ever reſt till *Lotharius* was kill'd, and thereupon had himſelf created Emperour, and his Son *Albertus* King.

He came to the Crown by the ſame difficult ſteps his Grandfather *Berengarius* the firſt had done, which made many hope he would imitate him in his Princely Virtues, and reſtore to *Italy* that Government which they were not ſenſible of while they enjoy'd it. Yet his carriage preſently diſcovered that he deſign'd nothing leſs, ſeeing he neglected thoſe whom the ties both of nature and gratitude ought to have made him regard. What in all outward appearance could

have been more for the Intereſt of *Hugo* and *Azo* of *Eſté* after their Grandfathers death than to have their Brother Emperour; but it proved much otherwiſe, for *Berengarius*, either jealous of *Hugo*'s aſpiring to the Crown, whom he knew to be popular and bold; or ſtill angry when he reflected how much he and his Brother were careſſed at Court in their Grandfathers time, took all occaſions to ſlight and diſcountenance them. *Hugo* could hardly bear ſuch ill uſage, and juſt when his long-ſtifled anger was ready to break out, as fair an occaſion of being revenged upon *Berengarius* preſented it ſelf as *Hugo* could have deſired.

Adeleidis the Wife of *Lotharius*, who by her excellent deportment had ſtrangely inſinuated her ſelf into all peoples affections, promiſed not to leave *Italy* in the condition whereunto *Berengarius* had brought it, and he knowing how little he was beloved, deſign'd her for his Son *Albertus*, hoping by this means both to ſtrengthen his intereſt, and keep her from any other match which might prove

prove in the end fatal to him and his Family. But *Adeleidis* in her heart hated *Berengarius* as the Author of her husbands death, and rejected *Albertus* upon his Fathers ſcore. *Berengarius* reſolving to gain by threats her, who was proof againſt all allurements, confin'd her firſt to *Pavia*, then to a more narrow priſon, whence there was no hopes of deliverance but by conſenting to a marriage with *Albertus*.

Hugo who knew nothing to be more natural to *Berengarius* than cruelty, being ſenſible of the Queens danger, whom he judg'd not likely to yield, generouſly ventur'd all to reſcue her, and oblige *Otho* King of *Germany*, for whom *Adeleidis* was deſigned before her impriſonment. Having therefore got without ſuſpicion into the Caſtle where ſhe was kept in the midſt of a Lake, by the help of a Prieſt, of whoſe fidelity and courage he had formerly experience, the Queen was let down out of a Window, and convey'd away in a Boat which lay ready for that purpoſe, into the next Wood, where ſhe

continued ſeveral days with *Hugo*, the Prieſt furniſhing them with ſuch entertainment as he could procure from the neighbouring Villages. Notice being given to *Otho* of the Queens eſcape, his Army preſently advanced towards *Italy*; and this put all in ſuch a conſternation, that *Hugo* and the Queen got without any further danger into the Caſtle of *Cannoſſa*, where
952. *Azo* expected them.

Otho having received his Queen from the hands of *Hugo* her Deliverer, marched on towards *Berengarius*, whoſe tyranny had now render'd him ſo odious, that being deſerted by all his friends, he delivered himſelf up Priſoner with his Son *Albertus*; and *Otho* without much trouble poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Imperial Crown which has ever ſince continued in the *German* Nation. No reward ſeeming too great for the perſon to whom he ow'd his Queen, *Hugo* was made Governour of all that Country, which is now known by the name of the Dutchy of *Milan*, the Dutchy of *Montferrat*, *Piemont*, and the territory of *Genoua*, and

and *Berengarius* was carried Priſoner into *Germany*.

CHAP. IV.

The moſt remarkable actions of the Counts of Eſté *from* Otho *the* Great *to* Henry *the third.*

AFter a ſhort confinement *Berengarius* had leave to return into *Italy* with the title of King, but much limited in his Authority, which he was too apt to abuſe; ſcarce was he well ſetled when forgetfull of the Emperours clemency and his own engagements, being enraged at thoſe who had helped to humble him, he behaved himſelf more cruelly than ever. *Hugo* whoſe ſplendid way of living did eclipſe him, was the chief object of his wrath, but too powerfull for him to meddle with. After *Hugo*'s death he took occaſion to fall out with his Brother *Azo* about their Mother *Giſcla*'s inheritance, and their difference ended in *Azo*'s being turned out of all he had, and forced to fly

960. fly for his life into *Germany* with his Son, whence neither of them ever returned.

With them muſt the family of *Eſté* have periſhed, had not the hopefull Iſſue of *Sigifred* Prince of *Parma* ſupported it, *Sigifred* himſelf was dead; but his eldeſt Son *Azo* entering upon his Couſins deſperate fortune in ſpite of the Tyrant maintained his right, and confirmed his younger brothers in theirs at *Parma* and *Luca*.

The loud cryes of *Berengarius*'s oppreſſion, and the complaints of ſuch as every day fled from *Italy*, reaching the Emperours ears, brought his Son *Lodolphus* with an Army from *Germany* againſt the Tyrant. *Lodolphus* being ſuddenly kill'd, *Azo* the third happening to be then in the Camp, was choſen General in the Princes room. In this ſtation he had not continued many dayes, when engaging the enemy he obtained a ſignal victory, and reduced ſeveral places to the Emperours obedience. Whereever he came the people crouded to welcome him as the deliverer of his Countrey, *Piacenza* and *Regio* deſiring

ring to live under his protection, preſented him with their keys, many Cities being weary of their late ſufferings, were making haſt to free themſelves from the yoke of *Berengarius*, who on the other hand was uſing all diligence to raiſe forces, and to put a ſtop to *Azo*'s ſucceſs. But *Otho*'s appearing the ſecond time with a ſtrong Army after ſome few skirmiſhes rather than fights, took *Berengarius* priſoner, and ſent him into *Germany*, there to endure perpetual impriſonment for the miſeries he had brought upon his Native Countrey.

Otho's occaſions requiring his ſpeedy return into *Germany*, he reſolved to put the Government of *Italy* into ſure hands; and none having deſerved ſo well of him, nor being ſo able to do him ſervice as *Azo*, he committed all to his truſt, with the title of Vicar of *Italy*: This unlimited Power 970.
Azo diſcreetly employ'd for the eſtabliſhment of the Emperours Authority, yet not without giving ſatisfaction to thoſe he govern'd, by which he added greatly to the former luſtre of his family.

Azo

Azo left ſeveral Sons, the eldeſt was *Albertus* the ſecond, *Otho*'s chief Favorite, whom ſome of the *Italian* writers call *Albertatius*; the ſecond was *Thedaldus*, whom the City of *Ferrara* mindfull of its former happineſs under a Prince of the houſe of *Eſté*, choſe in the place of *Almaricus* lately dead. After the death of his Father and Uncle he had likewiſe *Regio*, *Parma* and *Luca*, by which he laid the foundation of that Power and Riches which his Grand-child, the Counteſs *Matildis* ſo famous in the Hiſtories of thoſe times, did foully miſ-imploy in ſetting up the Papal Authority againſt that of the Emperours; as we ſhall relate hereafter.

The vaſt poſſeſſions fallen to *Albertus* by his Fathers death might have invited him home, had he not been deeply engaged at the Emperours Court. From the time of *Charles* the *Great*, the Family of *Eſté* had been dignified with the title of Counts, which *Otho* changed into that of Marqueſs; and thinking he could never too well requite *Hugo*'s kindneſs in reſcuing *Adeleidis* from the hands of *Beren-*

Berengarius, he gave his Daughter, by *Adeleidis* named *Alda*, in marriage to *Albertus*, with ten Caſtles in *Lombardy*, and the City of *Friburgh* in *Germany*.

Upon the death of *Otho* the *Great*, diſſenſions aroſe about the Succeſſion, for his Brother *Henry* of *Bavaria* truſting in his Intereſt, with the neighbour Princes, endeavoured to wreſt the Imperial Crown from his Nephew *Otho* the ſecond. But *Albertus* being zealous for the young Prince, engaged ſo many in his behalf, as made good the Juſtice of his Cauſe againſt the Uſurper. This did beget him the irreconcileable hatred of *Henry*, which he little valued, while he was ſo faſt united to the Emperour. *Harald* King of *Denmark* was one of thoſe that declared for *Henry*, and brought an Army to the Fields to over-aw thoſe who ſhould offer to oppoſe him; but *Albertus* with the Emperours Forces gave him ſuch a blow, that all his threats ended in a peace with *Otho* upon very unequal terms.

Things thus ſetled at home, *Otho* the

the ſecond went to free *Naples* from the *Saracens*, whom the *Greeks* had called in; the flower of the *German* Nobility accompanied him in this Expedition; and *Albertus* hoping his abſence might then be diſpenſed with, ſtopped in *Lombardy* to look into the concerns of his Family, which the Emperours Affairs had made him long neglect. *Otho* gave the *Saracens* battle under the walls of *Benevent*, where by the treachery of the *Romans* his Army was overthrown, and he himſelf made his eſcape moſt miraculouſly after having been ſometime, though unknown, in the enemies hands. *Albertus* having the news of the Emperours defeat haſted towards him with what Troops he could raiſe, and came in time to help to reunite the Emperours ſcatter'd Army, which thereupon made head againſt the *Saracens* when they leaſt expected it; kill'd all that made any reſiſtance, and then purſuing the advantage, never gave them time to breathe till they had chaſed them out of *Naples*; from thence had *Otho* the title of *Saracenicus* given him. At his return to *Rome*, he treated

treated thoſe who had betrayed him with the utmoſt ſeverity, and was going on to ſee deeper every day into their indirect practices, when he was ſeized with a deſperate feaver which killed him in a few dayes.

Otho the third came to the Crown ſo young, that *Henry* of *Bavaria*'s ill ſucceſs formerly did not diſcourage him from a ſecond attempt; he had got the young Prince into his hands, pretending he was his Guardian, and that till he were of age none ought to queſtion his Right to Govern. *Albertus* who well underſtood if *Henry* ſucceeded in this, ſo long as he lived, *Otho* was never like to enter upon the Government, ſhew'd no leſs concern now than he had done formerly for *Otho* the ſecond. Others who remember'd that he had been too hard for *Henry*, were encouraged to joyn, and form'd a ſtrong confederacy in defence of *Otho*, that *Henry* ſeeing the difficulty of the enterprize, with the doubtfulneſs of the ſucceſs gave it over.

Albertus lived to ſee *Otho* the third in ſure poſſeſſion of the Crown which he

he had been ſo eminently inſtrumental in ſetting both upon his, and his Fathers head. Never did any man promote the intereſt of Princes more than *Albertus* did that of the three Emperours under whom he lived, nor have we any ground to tax them of backwardneſs in acknowledging his merits. He was honour'd with *Otho* the firſt's Daughter in marriage, under *Otho* the ſecond, and *Otho* the third, he had the chief truſts of the Government committed to him, and had ſuch a ſtrange influence upon all their Counſels, that nothing but the aſſurance of his integrity could have juſtified their prudence in placing any man in ſo high a ſphere.

Alda brought him three Sons, the eldeſt was *Hugo* the ſecond, who ſucceeded his Father, not only in his Poſſeſſions and Title, but which is a rare thing, in his Intereſt at Court. About this time *Rome* grew big with a new project of ſetting up an *Italian* Monarchy in oppoſition to
993. the Emperours. The ſeverity, or as ſome termed it, the cruelty of *Otho* the ſecond, made the *Romans* conceive

ceive an unalterable prejudice againſt his Family and his Nation, and thoſe who expected to advance their fortunes by a change, did moſt carefully foment theſe humours. The great Engine which moved all was one *Creſcentius*, who according to the character given him by the *Italian* Writers wanted none of the qualifications neceſſary for ſuch an undertaking: Upon all occaſions he did inveigh againſt the Emperour with equal boldneſs and eloquence, complaining how much his Countreymens ſpirits were debaſed from thoſe of their Anceſtors, in ſuffering a dull phlegmatick People, and a Prieſt (the *Germans* he mean'd and the *Pope*) to keep the Miſtriſs of the world thus in ſlavery. Being created Conſul he endeavour'd to retrieve ſome of the loſt Power to that empty name, and began with the Pope whom he chaſed from *Rome*, that ſo he might order things as he pleaſed.

Otho had notice of all that paſt, and judging it a buſineſs of too great conſequence to be neglected, ſet forward towards *Rome*, accompanied by

his Couſin the Marqueſs of *Eſté*, and many of the *German* and *Italian* Nobility. In his march he had advice of the Popes death, which made him create a Kinſman of his own, and a *German*, Pope, by the name of *Gregory* the fifth, whom he ſent to *Rome* before him to ſee if they would acquieſce in his choice. *Creſcentius* and the *Romans* to divert the preſent danger, received the new Pope with much outward reſpect, confeſſed their raſhneſs in calling the Emperours Authority in queſtion, and readily promiſed entire ſubmiſſion for the future, though it ſoon appeared they intended nothing leſs: for ſcarce was the Emperour gone when the former project being again ſet on foot, *Gregory* was rejected as an Uſurper; and *John* Biſhop of *Piacenza* a *Greek* by Nation, friend to *Creſcentius*, and the richeſt Prelate of *Italy*, placed in the Chair.

Otho enraged at their proceedings made what preparation he could for a new Expedition, reſolving not to be put off a ſecond time with fair words; with the *German* Army, and the

the Troops that *Hugo* of *Eſté* had raiſed in *Italy*, the Emperour inveſted *Rome*, which *Creſcentius* having fortified, refuſed to deliver; but there being neither Proviſion nor Forces ſufficient to hold out a long ſiege, the City was taken, and in it the new Pope, who had his eyes put out, his noſe and ears cut off, and with his face backward, was afterwards carried upon an Aſs round the City in triumph. *Creſcentius* retired to the Caſtle of St *Angelo*, which he defended with ſuch obſtinacy, that the Emperour ſeem'd glad to agree to what terms he would; but he was the more liberal in his promiſes, becauſe he never deſign'd to perform them: for *Creſcentius* after having ſuffered many indignities in his perſon, was ſentenced to end his life upon a Gibbet. He was a perſon of rare endowments, and might have deſerved a more honourable death, had he imployed himſelf in a better Cauſe. In ſhort, *Creſcentius* had truly the fate of all unſucceſsfull Traytors, to be infamous to Poſterity for miſcarrying in his attempt; but if his Fortune had

bore any proportion to the greatneſs of his mind, we had found him ranked among the Worthies of *Italy*.

All muſt own that *Creſcentius* did not make good his promiſe to *Otho*; yet this could not vindicate *Otho's* breach of his Royal word, or ſecure him from the ſubtle contrivances of the *Romans*, who vowed the death of *Creſcentius* ſhould be revenged; and they had ſo ordered the matter, that when the Emperour fancied himſelf free from all danger, he muſt have fallen into their hands, had not his Coſin *Hugo* of *Eſté* diſappointed them, by conveying him away by night. The ſenſe of ſo narrow a deliverance, with *Hugo's* great performances in this and the former expedition, made *Otho* Create him Marqueſs of *Italy*, a Title never given to any other. This rendred *Hugo* ſo conſpicuous, that the Hiſtories of thoſe Times call him the Marqueſs without any further diſtinction, as we gather from *Arnulphus* of *Milan*, and *Scafnaburgenſis*, and even down to the time of *Villani* and *Dante*; when they ſpoke of the Marqueſs, he of *Eſté* is to be underſtood,

1000.

as

as having a particular right to this Title above all the Families of *Italy*.

Though *Hugo* had helped the Emperour to humble the *Romans*, and by diſcovering the Conſpiracy againſt his perſon, ſeem'd to have brought things to that hopefull paſs, that there remained no further ground for fears; yet the reſtleſs attempts of *Otho*'s enemies at length ſucceeded, for ſome *Roman* Gloves were preſented him by *Creſcentius*'s widow, in which the richneſs of the perfume did cover ſuch a deadly poiſon as kill'd him before his Phyſicians knew he was infected: this the ambitious Woman was ſaid to have done, not ſo much upon her husbands account, as for the affront done to her ſelf, whom the Emperour promiſed to marry, but afterwards changed his inclinations, which her haughty Spirit could not digeſt.

Otho the third dying without Children, *Henry* of *Bavaria* came to the Crown, which his Father had ſo much coveted in the minority of the two late Emperours; and was as I have

already mentioned, oppoſed in it by *Albertus* of *Eſté*; nor did their quarrel end with their lives, but was entail'd upon their Sons, as might be ſeen in *Henry*, who from the beginning diſcovered a diſlike to *Hugo's* management of the affairs of *Italy*, and let drop ſome expreſſions that he deſigned to remove him from all Publick Truſt, as ſoon as he found himſelf ſetled. This prepoſterous reſolution loſt him *Italy* for ſome years, becauſe *Hugo* having notice of it engaged his whole intereſt to exclude *Henry* and ſet up *Ardoinus* Marqueſs of *Eporædia*, who ſupported likewiſe by moſt of the Nobility of *Lombardy* came without much oppoſition to be choſen King at *Pavia*. The ſucceſs he had at his entry upon the Government againſt *Henries* Army put him in peaceable poſſeſſion of his Crown, the diſturbances of *Germany* not allowing *Henry* to look any further at preſent. The only perſon *Ardoinus* could never gain was the Arch-biſhop of *Milan*, who ceaſed not to ſolicite *Henry* till he brought the *Germans* again into *Italy*, and then

then did *Ardoinus* part with his Kingdom upon as eaſie terms as he had got it; and *Hugo* was fain to retire to the *Greek* Emperours General in *Naples*, whither *Henry* purſued him, and took him priſoner with his three Sons.

Henry having got *Hugo* and his Sons in his power, did beyond their expectation ſhew a rare example of clemency; for when in them he might have extirpated the family, remembring his raſh expreſſions had in a great meaſure occaſioned their revolt, he generouſly reſtored *Hugo* to whatever he formerly poſſeſſed, renewed his Commiſſion of Vicar of *Italy*, and diſmiſt his Sons with great expreſſions of kindneſs. *Hugo* to ſhew himſelf worthy of the Emperours confidence, did make it afterwards the whole ſtudy of his life to promote his Service, and effectually recovered him by his gentle Government the hearts of the *Italian* Nation, which the ſeverity of *Otho* the ſecond, and *Otho* the third had alienated. He lived to a great age, was univerſally lamented at his death, and propoſed to po- 1024.

ſterity as the true pattern of a worthy Magiſtrate, who could advance the Princes Authority, without invading the Peoples Rights.

Azo the fourth ſucceeded him about the ſame time that *Henry* the ſecond dying without Children, left the Imperial Crown to *Conrard* Duke of *Franconia*; who out of a particular value he had for *Azo*, promoted his
1026. match with *Cunigunda* the Duke of *Bavaria*'s only Daughter. By her *Azo* had a Son called *Welpho*, who inheriting all his Grand-father the Duke of *Bavaria*'s Territories, gave the firſt riſe to the moſt Illuſtrious Family of *Brumſwick* and *Lunenburgh*, which is thus deſcended of the Family of *Eſté*. The Abbot of *Urſpergh* writes that the Original of that Family was from an *Italian* Marqueſs who married in *Germany*; and this Marqueſs, both the Records of *Eſté*, and *Aventinus* in his Hiſtory of *Bavaria*, prove to have been *Azo Hugo*'s Son, of whom I now treat.

Cunigunda died young, leaving this only Son *Welpho*, who was plentifully provided for in *Germany*: Afterwards

wards *Azo* married, as ſome write, the Emperour *Conrards* Daughter; as others, his Niece or his Grand-child, by whom he had ſeveral Children; the eldeſt was called *Azo* the fifth, after his own name, who if the Pope had not ſhewed himſelf moſt unjuſt in the matter of his marriage with his Couſin the Counteſs *Matildis*, was in a fair way to have been one of the richeſt Princes of that age, as I ſhall now make appear, and hope to give the Reader ſome ſatisfaction in treating of *Matildis*, whoſe double Relation to the Family of *Eſté*, both by Blood and Marriage, makes her naturally fall under our conſideration in this place; and if I do enlarge, the great influence ſhe had upon all the remarkable tranſactions of that age, ſeems to require it. 1037.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The most material passages of the Life of Azo *the fifth, and of* Matildis *Countess of* Este.

THedaldus (whom I made mention of) a younger Brother of this Family, and Uncle to the great *Hugo*, had raised himself to vaste wealth; this his Son *Boniface* did so much enlarge, that none in *Italy* came near him. He was called Marques of *Tuscany*, and had *Ferrara*, *Modena*, *Mantoua*, *Regio*, *Parma* and *Luca*, and upon his Marriage with *Beatrix* the Emperour *Conrards* Daughter, he had *Verona*, and that which is since called the Patrimony of St *Peter* given him; all which after the death of his little Son *Frederick* fell to his Daughter *Matildis*, under the tuition of her Mother *Beatrix*.

Beatrix being left so rich by *Boniface*, though her Father *Conrard* was dead, yet under her Brother, *Henry* the third did manage *Italy* as she pleased; but her disposing of her self and

and her Daughter *Matildis* to *Godfrey* Duke of *Lorrain* and his Son, without the Emperours conſent, juſtly offended him; ſeeing by this ſhe gave footing in *Italy* to a Powerfull Family, which might have given the Empire trouble if there had been any Iſſue by either marriage. Yet that which made *Henry* moſt jealous was leſt theſe Princes ſhould joyn with the Popes, who of late were become very troubleſome; for taking advantage of the Emperours abſence, they did every day make ſome encroachments upon them: and were then come to that paſs, that inſtead of allowing the Emperours Prerogative in confirming them which had been alwayes practiſed, *Benedict* the ninth took upon him to deprive *Henry* the third of his Right of Succeſſion, and gave the Imperial Crown to *Peter* King of *Hungary*, upon condition he would depend upon him and his Succeſſors. 1053.

Henry to give a check to an Uſurpation of ſo dangerous conſequence, and likewiſe to remove the great ſcandal occaſioned by three Popes, all

all Reigning at once, paſſed into *Italy*, called a Councel at *Rome*, where *Benedict* the ninth, *Sylveſter* the third, and *Gregory* the ſixth being convicted of ſeveral Crimes, were all laid aſide, and *Clement* the ſecond choſen Pope; and for preventing ſuch abuſes, it was Decreed, That none ſhould be admitted for the future, except ſuch as the Emperour approved of; all that were preſent at the Council confirmed it by Oath; and during the reſt of the Reign of *Henry* the third, this method of Election was obſerved: But *Henry* the fourth being left young under the Government of his Mother, the *Romans* when there was nothing to apprehend forgot their Oath, and made choice of *Stephen* the ninth, without conſulting the Emperour: Soon after they openly declared, he was not to meddle either in the nomination or approbation of Popes; and this Doctrine never openly taught before, in a ſhort time by the Empreſſes connivence, and the countenance it had from *Matildis* and her Mother, was ſo univerſally received, that *Henry* when

when he came of age, found his challenging it as a right the ſource of all his calamities.

Matildis gave early proof of her blind attachment to the Pope, which her Husband (either to ſecure a party upon occaſion againſt the Emperour, or to comply with *Matildis*'s inclinations) did much encourage at firſt, and grew ſenſible of his folly in it too late, when he ſaw her forget not only her duty to her Soveraign the Emperour, but likewiſe to himſelf who was her husband.

The perſon that bewitched *Matildis* was *Hildibrand*, afterwards *Gregory* the ſeventh, to whoſe Councils ſhe gave her ſelf up ſo entirely, that her Forces, her Money, and her Intereſts were all at his diſpoſal. *Hildibrand* was of mean extraction, the Son (as *Cranzius* an accurate writer ſayes) of a Smith, and deſigned for a Monk; but being more enclined to buſineſs than devotion, or a retired life, he abandon'd the Cloiſter, and went to *Rome*, where his natural ſubtilty and ambition, masked with an appearance of virtue and a publick ſpirit,

ſpirit, raiſed him in a few years to ſuch a pitch, that whatſoever Pope they choſe without his conſent, was ſoon diſpatch'd; and even thoſe whom he advanced, if they prov'd not for his purpoſe had no better luck, as *Benno* and other of their Writers inform us. By the means of one *Brazutus* his old acquaintance in the Magick School, no leſs than ſix Popes were poiſon'd in thirteen years. Every one could eaſily diſcern how well *Matildis* was like to thrive in ſuch hands.

The Pope that immediately preceded *Hildibrand* was *Alexander* the ſecond, formerly Biſhop of *Luca*, whom he had ſet up in oppoſition to the Emperour, but eas'd him of the trouble of governing; the Biſhops therefore of *Lombardy* not longer able to ſee *Henries* Authority thus contemned, the decree of their Council ſlighted, and their oath broken, perſwaded the Emperour to call a Council at *Baſil*, where *Alexander* was declared an Uſurper, and *Cadolus* Biſhop of *Parma* choſen Pope by the name of *Honorius* the ſecond; moſt of the Prelates and Nobility of *Lombardy*

bardy accompanied *Honorius* in his journey to *Rome*; but *Matildis* at the head of an Army oppoſed him and the Emperour, in behalf of *Alexander* and *Hildibrand*. After many conteſts both parties agreeing to hold a 1063.
Council at *Mantoua*, the Emperour, though there preſent was betrayed; for *Matildis* by *Hildibrands* direction corrupting one part of the Council, and over-awing another in her own City, had *Honorius* caſt, and *Alexander* confirmed: And *Hildibrand* not ſatisfied with the Popes Authority, and his Revenue, procured a doſe to be given *Alexander* to make way for himſelf.

From one raiſed by ſuch ſteps they could not but expect extraordinary things; at firſt he ſeemed to apprehend the Emperours reſentment of his illegal election, but *Matildis* offering to ſacrifice Life and Fortune in his Cauſe, quickly removed his fears, and 1073.
encouraged him to write to the Emperour in a ſtyle not uſed by his predeceſſors; nor was this all, he ſummoned him by his New Authority to appear perſonally at *Rome*, there to anſwer

anſwer in a Synod to ſuch Articles as were brought againſt him, threatning that if he refuſed to come, he would paſs to the ſentence of Excommunication. The diviſions of *Germany* made the Emperour unwilling to come to a breach with the Pope, who he knew had made ſure of *Matildis*; yet no reaſonable condeſcenſion being able to ſatisfie *Gregory*, they adviſed the Emperour to take the ſtart of him, and to aſſemble a Council at *Worms* to look firſt into *Gregories* actions. At the opening of this Aſſembly, ſtrange were the accuſations brought in againſt *Gregory*, and none plainer than thoſe of *Hugo*, one of his Cardinals, who preſented Letters from *Rome*, ſigned by many perſons of unſuſpected integrity, ſhewing at large his Crimes, both before and after his coming to the Papacy; and how the Election was carried for him by *Matildis* and her Guards, whoſe acclamations ſerved him to better purpoſe, than the Votes of thoſe who were to chuſe. All which being impartially examined and conſidered, *Gregory*, as the Abbot of *Urſpergh* relates, was declared

clared an Uſurper, an introducer of dangerous Novelties, and a perſon of a ſcandalous life that had no right to his dignity, and was no longer to be obeyed. The news being brought into *Italy*, ſeveral of the *Lombard* Biſhops at *Pavia* confirmed what had paſt at *Wormes*.

Matildis and *Gregory* all this while were very hard at work, ſhe in raiſing Forces to defend the Pope, if any ſhould attempt to diſpoſſeſs him, and he in laying out her treaſure among the Biſhops, that things might paſs againſt *Henry*, according to their minds in the Synod appointed at *Rome*. Little did they think that any durſt have proclaimed the Decree of *Wormes* in an Aſſembly compoſed of *Gregories* own Creatures, and where he in perſon did preſide, guarded by *Matildis*'s troops: but one *Roland* a Prieſt of *Parma* coming boldly up, without paying him any reſpect, required him, in the name of the moſt Religious Emperour, and of the moſt Reverend Biſhops of *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, to reſign the Sacred Charge, into which by craft, ſimo-

ny, and other evil arts he had thruſt himſelf: declaring that he was no true *Shepherd*, *Father* nor *Pope*, but a *Thief*, a *Wolf*, and a *Tyrant*: and while all were in a conſternation to hear ſuch words, *Roland* happily made his eſcape.

Matildis was now become a widow by the death of the Duke of *Lorain*, and had indeed liv'd as ſuch for ſeveral years paſt; her jealouſie of the Dukes being no friend to *Gregory* made her afraid to be adviſed by him, or to allow him leave to meddle in her affairs; and her Husband upon the other hand ſeeing himſelf neglected and no gainer at all by his great Match, retired into his own Countrey full of trouble, and ſurvived his Father but a few years. *Gregory* judging it againſt his intereſt to have *Matildis* married to any foreign Prince, in whom he could have no confidence, propoſed to her *Azo* Marqueſs of *Eſté*, who was the only perſon of all the *Lombards* that had never countenanced *Honorius* the ſecond, but adhered to *Alexander* and him: *Matildis* readily accepted of

Gregories

Gregories choice of her Couſin for a Husband, nothing doubting but he would eſpouſe the Popes concerns as much as ſhe had done; and *Azo* ſeemed glad likewiſe of ſo rich a purchaſe as he hoped *Matildis* might prove. Yet both parties were fruſtrated of their expectation, as we learn by what follow'd.

But to return to the Synod at *Rome*, there *Gregory* carried things with a high hand, thundering the ſentence of Excommunication againſt the Emperour and his followers, freeing his Subjects from their Allegiance, and exhorting the Princes to come to a new Election; nor did he ſtop here, but encouraged by the party he had made in *Germany*, declared he would meet a Synod at *Ausburgh*, that what had paſt at *Rome* againſt the Emperour might be confirmed there, as the Sentence of *Wormes* againſt him had been confirmed in *Italy*. Great preparations were made for his journey, his affairs in his abſence were recommended to the care of *Matildis*, who he knew would never fail him; and ſhe with her Army intended to

ſee him ſafe within the borders of *Germany*.

The Emperour obſerving the ill effects theſe proceedings already had upon the factious party, durſt not venture the iſſue of *Gregories* journey, but reſolved to prevent it by humbling himſelf to any terms; and thereupon with a ſmall train poſted towards *Gregory*, who was not yet got out of *Italy*.

The Pope upon the firſt news of the Emperours approach would truſt himſelf no where but with *Matildis* in her ſtrong Caſtle of *Cannoſſa*; upon better information, gueſſing at his errand by the meanneſs of his train, he flatly refuſed to ſee him, purpoſely that the Emperour might apply himſelf to *Matildis*, and become her debtor for his reconciliation; no interceſſion but hers could have obtained him the favour of acceſs, which yet was clogged with ſuch hard conditions as never were required of any Crowned head: And every one thought ſtrange that *Henry* a proud and a warlike Prince, could be brought to proſtitute his honour after

ter this manner, and appear not ſo much like an humble ſupplicant as a criminal; a poſture which ill became a *Roman* Emperour, and the firſt Potentate of *Chriſtendom.*

Nor was it leſs ſtrange to ſee *Matildis* the Emperours Couſin-German by her Mother, enriched by his and his Fathers bounty, ſo eaſily to forget both the ties of Nature and gratitude, and to ſupport the Pope in all theſe extravagancies. If ſhe believed ill things of the Emperour while yet in *Germany*; and that he would not agree to any reaſonable propoſals, none can much wonder, who conſiders her information came only from the Pope; but to ſee him ſo ignominiouſly treated at her own houſe, and to approve of it, ſhewed in her little ſenſe of honour, and great want of diſcernment.

It proved much otherwiſe with her Husband *Azo*, who hitherto had likewiſe been abuſed; but being an eyewitneſs of *Gregories* inſolence, he did afterwards ſerve the Emperour all he could; this coſt him dear, for *Gregory* perceiving it, uſed arts to alie-

nate the affections of *Matildis* from him, and then grounded a divorce upon their being within thoſe degrees of conſanguinity to which the Canons deny marriage. While *Azo* continued of *Gregories* party this was never queſtion'd, and being now of the Emperours, it was too late to hope for a diſpenſation.

It ſeems ſtrange that *Baronius* ſhould be at ſo great pains to perſwade the world, that *Matildis* was never marri'd to *Azo*, when the ſtrongeſt of his Arguments amount to no more than a few Chronological ſcruples which cannot weaken the teſtimony of ſo many approved Authors that writ before him. It is obſerved he had an excellent faculty of raiſing doubts, which would any wiſe make for his purpoſe, and it appears plainly in this, becauſe he deſigns it to help *Matildis* to paſs for a Virgin, but her marriage firſt to the Duke of *Lorain*, and afterwards to the Duke of *Bavaria*, leave no colour for this pretence: And if we give credit to the Hiſtories of thoſe times, though ſhe had never been married, the freedom ſhe was pleaſed

ſed to allow *Gregory*, put her out of the category of Virgins. How much would the Abbot of *Urſpergh*, *Scaffnaburgenſis*, *Benno*, *Lambertus* and others, have pitied the ignorance, or rather partiality of our age, had they imagined *Matildis* was to be ſet up for either Virgin or Saint amongſt us. But we cannot lay any blame upon them, who ſpared not to repreſent her to poſterity in her true colours.

The Emperour had no benefit by his ſubmiſſion, the Rebels in his abſence having crown'd *Rodolphus* Duke of *Suevia* King, whoſe Election *Gregory* confirmed, and thereby made the breach wider than ever. But though the Pope declared for the Uſurper, heaven favoured the better Cauſe. *Rodolphus* was overcome in four ſeveral battles, and received a mortal wound in the laſt, together with the loſs of his right hand, which being brought to him alittle before his death, he confeſſed Gods Juſtice in the manner of his puniſhment, becauſe with that hand he had ſigned the Oath of Allegiance to his Soveraign, and afterwards perfidiouſly

lift it up against him. While *Henry* was employed to maintain his Right in *Germany*, *Lombardy* lay exposed to *Matildis*, who heavily persecuted the Loyal Party, especially *Gilbertus*, Arch-bishop of *Ravenna*, Chancellour of *Italy*, and the Emperours best friend.

A little before *Rodolphus*'s death *Henry* call'd a Synod at *Brixina* in *Bavaria*, where thirty Bishops did again depose *Gregory*, and chuse *Gilbertus* Pope. Among the Crimes laid to *Gregories* Charge, I cannot but observe two; the former is that of Heresie, as being one of *Berengarius* Disciples, and of the same Sentiments; but those of his party need not labour much to vindicate him in this particular, seeing none I presume will endeavour to bring *Gregory* the seventh in as a witness to the truth, or a forerunner of the Reformation. The Doctrine of *Berengarius* had stronger Pillars in all Ages to support it, than the Infallibility of such a Pope, under whose Patronage Truth it self might have been suspected; nor could Satan more effectually recommend an

errour

errour to all well-meaning men, than by procuring *Gregory* the ſeventh to oppoſe it. In a word, if *Gregory* really embraced this truth, no wonder if it then proved unſucceſsfull, God reſerving it for better times, and for better inſtruments. The other Crime which they had better reaſon to faſten upon him, was his ſeparating Wives from their Husbands; and in this undoubtedly they had an eye to *Matildis*, whom he had firſt parted from the Duke of *Lorain*, and afterwards moſt unjuſtly divorced from *Azo* of *Eſté*, a thing really worthy of the cognizance of that Synod.

Henry being now at leiſure to call *Matildis* and *Gregory* to an account for their cruelty to his friends, and to ſee *Clement* the third Enſtall'd, bent his whole Forces againſt *Italy*, and 1084.
notwithſtanding all *Matil is* endeavours, went directly to *Rome*, nothing except *Florence* giving him any ſtop. *Rome* againſt which the chief deſign was laid, wanted neither proviſion nor troops, and *Gregory* was there in perſon performing all the parts of a good Officer during the ſiege. Upon the

the ſurrender of the City, he retired to the Caſtle St *Angelo*, & from thence to the *Normans* in *Naples*, whom he had engaged in his quarrel; but finding them in no condition to reſtore him, nor the *Romans* diſpoſed to receive him again, who had for many years behaved himſelf ſo imperiouſly among them: and laſt of all, the paſſage for *Matildis* being ſo ſhut up by the Emperours Forces, that ſhe could not come to his aſſiſtance; trouble and anguiſh, when he ſaw he was thus deſerted in his old age, occaſion'd a feaver, which in a few dayes put a period to his life.

He was Canonized after his death, as *Baronius* informs us in his *Roman* Martyrology; but whence they had the proofs, either of the ſanctity of his life, or the miracles he wrought, we cannot gueſs. The Characters not only given him by his Contemporaries who writ of him, but by the Synods of *Wormes*, *Pavia*, *Mentzs* and *Brixina* did little countenance this deſign; his apparent Miracles, if any ſuch were alledged, did flow from the ſame ſource with thoſe of the *Ægyptian* Magi-

Magicians, in whoſe ſtudies he had ſpent ſome part of his youth, he pretended to the ſpirit of prophecy when he foretold the Emperours death, of which he thought he had made ſure; but his Inſtruments failing him, he was fain to ſave his credit by an equivocation: And to ſay no worſe, their thruſting *Gregory* the ſeventh in among the Saints, gives us juſt ground to ſuſpect their Catalogue is not ſo pure as it ought to be; and that all to whom they addreſs themſelves, are not in ſo happy a ſtate as their miſtaken ſuperſtition is willing to ſuppoſe.

It was hoped *Gregories* death would have calm'd the ſtorm, and that the Emperour might afterwards enjoy his Crown, and *Clement* the third his dignity without diſturbance, if grief had killed *Matildis* at the ſame time as it was like to have done: But *Gregory* by his laſt Will recommending his party with much earneſtneſs to her protection, the war and the Schiſm were continued.

Welpho Duke of *Bavaria* and his Son of the ſame name, Rebels formerly

ly with *Rodolphus*, began to ſow new diviſions in *Germany*; whereupon *Urban* the ſecond, the true, though not immediate ſucceſſour of *Hildibrand*, judged the young Prince a perſon fitly qualified for a Husband to *Matildis*; and the match was quickly made up, where the parties both aimed at the ſame thing, that is, the Emperours depreſſion. This did further declare their great injuſtice to her former Husband, for *Welpho* was a Grand-child of the Houſe of *Eſté*, nearly related to *Matildis* as well as *Azo*, only there was no cauſe to ſuſpect him of being in the Emperours confidence: But ſuch indirect courſes were juſtly blaſted, and *Welpho* reconciled after ſome time to *Henry*, by which he loſt *Matildis*, whoſe love to her Husbands was alwayes grounded upon their devotion to the Pope; he could not both be the Emperours friend and *Matildis* Husband, and therefore a new pretence was found out for a divorce. A greater Title was deſign'd for *Matildis* by the *Greek* Emperour, who ſent an Ambaſſador to court her in his

his Name; but *Urban* who could promiſe himſelf no good by ſending her ſo far from home, diſſwaded her from any ſuch thoughts: And now her zeal growing with her years, no Title pleaſed her ſo well, as to hear her ſelf every day called the Daughter of St *Peter*, the pillar of the Truth, and the Protectreſs of the Church: names invented by the Court of *Rome*, to gratifie the humour of a bigotted Woman.

There remained ſtill one expedient to ruine the Emperour, which was to perſwade his Son *Conrard* that he ow'd him no Duty, but that he might take up Arms againſt him, and ſeize upon the Crown, which his Father by being cut off from the Communion of the Church, had forfeited long ago. Thus did *Urban* ſtir up a Rebellion more unnatural and black than any *Gregory* had attempted; and what the Popes Words made lawfull, *Matildis* Army made practicable: ſo 1094.
that *Conrard* coming into *Italy* received the Crown, but juſtly was he puniſhed with a ſhort reign, for his uſurping that which with honour and ſecurity

ſecurity by the courſe of Nature, he might e're long have expected.

Conrards death did break all their meaſures, yet they could not diſpair while the Emperour had another Son, *Urban* was dead, and *Paſcalis* in his
1105. place who debauch'd *Henry* from his Duty, as much as his predeceſſour had done his elder Brother, and was aſſiſted in it by ſome about the young Prince, whom *Matildis* had corrupted. A meeting of all the Emperours enemies being held at *Mentz*, the Arch-biſhops of *Mentz* and *Collogne* were ſent to the Emperour to demand his Crown for his Son; the Emperour underſtanding the buſineſs for which they came, deſired to know the reaſon why they proceeded ſo ſeverely againſt him; it was anſwered, becauſe he had made a Schiſm in the Church, had expoſed Eccleſiaſtical dignities to ſale, and had not obſerved the Canons in his choice of Biſhops. To this the Emperour ſmartly reply'd, If you pretend I have ſold Dignities, what had I, pray, from either of you for the Arch-biſhopricks of *Mentz* and *Collogne*, the greateſt and

and richeſt of *Germany?* You who turn accuſers are beſt able to vindicate me, and ought to diſcountenance thoſe who are guilty of Rebellion againſt me their Soveraign: Many other conſiderations he laid before them, but they ſtill inſiſting, he deſired at leaſt a day might be appointed in which he ſhould reſign his Crown, that both for his honour and theirs, it might ſeem his own voluntary act: This reaſonable requeſt alſo was denied, and the Arch-biſhop of *Mentz* moſt impudently coming up to him, ſnatch'd away his Crown, others by his example ſtrip'd him of his Purple, and the other marks of Royalty, and carried them to his Son, who was immediately declared King, and confirmed by the Popes Legates. The Old Emperour retired to *Liege:* thither his Friends reſorted from all hands to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his Crown; with theſe he gave battle to his Sons Army, and was at firſt ſucceſsfull: Yet money and large promiſes having corrupted his party, he was abandon'd by all, and in deſpair and neceſſity was forced to make

make his application to the Biſhop of *Spire*, that he might be received a petty Canon in a Church which he himſelf had there founded; but this ſmall favour being alſo beyond example denied him, he died within a few dayes, leaving to poſterity one of the greateſt inſtances, perhaps that any age has afforded, of the inconſtancy of worldly grandeur.

Thoſe who were much wedded to the Intereſts of *Rome*, could preſently diſcover the immediate hand of Divine Providence, revenging in *Henries* death the long perſecution he had carried on againſt them, little reflecting that *Gregory* the ſeventh dying outed of his dignity, and in a moſt forlorn condition ſeveral years before, gave no leſs advantage to the Emperours party. Others therefore who were not byaſſed made no ſuch inference from thence, knowing if there were no ſurer arguments to direct men in their judgments than the undertakers ſucceſs, the beſt cauſes might oftentimes ſuffer, and the moſt palpable uſurpations be vindicated.

The Pope and *Matildis* after they had

had compaſſed what they long deſigned, thought it now an eaſie matter to manage not only *Italy* but *Germany* alſo, and the young Prince as they pleaſed : All the grievances of their Party were to be redreſſed, and the pretended corruptions of the Clergy of *Germany* to be reformed in a Synod at *Ausburgh*, where the Pope the better to confirm his Authority among them, was to be preſent; but they were much diſappointed in *Henry* the fifth, who as ſoon as he was ſetled in his Throne, began to diſcover a ſtrong diſlike to their proceedings with his Father, and as he heartily wiſhed, he had no wayes been acceſſary to them; ſo to atone his guilt, his whole thoughts were employed on maintaining the Dignity & Prerogatives of his Crown, which had been ſo much violated by the late Rebellion.

There was little encouragement then for the Pope to appear at *Auſburgh* where he was ſure to be croſſed in whatſoever he propoſed; beſides *Henry* had an Army in readineſs to go into *Italy*, there to receive the

Imperial Crown. It frighted *Matildis* to hear of his coming in this posture, yet dissembling her fears, she was the first when he past the *Alpes* who sent to welcome him: The Pope likewise with great expressions of confidence invited him to *Rome*, because he knew he could not hinder his coming thither. Upon the day appointed for his Coronation, the Arch-bishop of *Milan*, by whom according to the custom he had first been crowned King of *Lombardy* presented him to the Pope, who before he proceeded any further in the Ceremony, required him publickly to renounce all pretension to the collation or investiture of Ecclesiastical Dignities; this *Henry* flatly refused to do, telling him he would not be tied to any such conditions, and that he expected his Crown after the same manner that *Charles* the *Great*, and *Lewis* his Son had received it; the contest lasted several dayes, not without great heats, and threatnings on both hands, the Pope declaring upon *Henries* refusal to comply, that he must come to his spiritual Arms; and

Henry

Henry letting him underſtand that his Army was ready at a call; ſo that nothing could perſwade *Henry* to depart from this generous reſolution, not valuing the Popes Arms ſo much as the Troops he had brought with him from *Germany*: at length the Pope was forced to yield that as a Right to the Son which had been denied his Father, and which *Matildis* and the former Popes had made the ground of all their wars. The Emperour prouder of retrieving this loſt Prerogative than of the Imperial Crown returned to *Germany*, where the firſt thing he did, was to ſee his Fathers body enterr'd; a favour his enemies malice had not thought fit to allow it.

No wonder if it pierced *Matildis* to the heart to ſee all her encroachments upon the Emperours power for ſo many years brought to nought in a moment, and the Papal Authority, which with ſo much coſt, pains and danger ſhe had highly advanced, now reduc'd to what ſhe had found it in the beginning of *Henry* the fourths reign, and all this by one whom *Paſcalis* and

ſhe had helped to ſet up upon his Fathers ruines; grief then and old age caſt her into a languiſhing diſtemper which in the end proved mortal.

She had all along deſigned, that not only the Popes, in whoſe times ſhe lived, but their Succeſſours alſo ſhould reap the fruits of her bounty, which made her eaſily hearken to thoſe who judged it the ſecureſt way to put the Church in poſſeſſion of the beſt part of her territories, and that it muſt be a particular ſatisfaction to ſee her own will executed to prevent the trouble it might occaſion after her death, and to hear the frequent Panegyricks of thoſe who extolled her munificence, and whoſe intereſt it was ſo to do. By theſe inſinuations they had already got into their hands that which is called the
1115. Patrimony of St *Peter*, with ſeveral Cities in *Tuſcany*. And now leſt upon her death-bed ſhe ſhould ſeem to abate of her wonted zeal, ſhe confirmed what was formerly granted, adding thereunto all the reſt.

I cannot find ſhe was ever Canonized, but the beſt of their Pens have been

been employed to celebrate her Virtues, and her memory is ſtill more precious among them than that of moſt of their Saints; of this *Urban* the eighth in our own time, has given teſtimony by having her body, or what at leaſt paſt for it, tranſlated from a Church near *Mantoua* to *Rome* where it lies buried in St *Peters* under a ſtately Monument erected 1635. at his charge, with an Inſcription, which expreſſes both his value for her Piety and Virtue, and his gratitude for her protection and bounty; and if oftentimes both in ſpeaking and writing of her they call her a Saint, it is no ſtrange thing, if one conſider the ſtile of the Countrey, according to what *Philip de Comines* obſerved in his paſſage through *Milan*; where wondering to read the name of one of their worſt Dukes, with this glorious Epithet of *Saint* upon the front of a Convent, a Prieſt ingenuouſly told him, it was their cuſtom to call all thoſe *Saints* to whom they were much obliged. In this reſpect then, envy it ſelf muſt allow, never any could lay juſter claim to

this title than *Matildis*, who deſerved better of the Popes than any that went before her, or that hath been ſince her time: for let them amuſe men as much as they liſt with pretended donations from *Conſtantine*, or from *Charles* the *Great*, it is plain, the Counteſs *Matildis* firſt ſet them up, and it is her whom *Rome* muſt chiefly thank, and others blame for the Popes bearing ſuch a figure ſince, among the Temporal Princes of *Italy*.

The event did verifie what was apprehended before, that *Matildis* actions would be called in queſtion afterwards; for *Henry* the fifth declared he would not agree to what ſhe had done, becauſe ſhe could not diſpoſe of what came to her by her Mother *Beatrix*, but that by her death it return'd to the Crown; and in truth there ſeem'd to be a great deal of reaſon in what the Emperour alledged, ſeeing it was too much that ſhe had abuſed while ſhe lived, the power derived from his Anceſtors, without entailing it for ever upon his enemies; the Pope on the other hand

hand thought he had good right to what was left him, chiefly when it was ſtrengthen'd with poſſeſſion: and betwixt theſe two powerfull Competitors, the Family of *Eſté*, whoſe Title certainly was beſt, had the leaſt ſhare.

CHAP. VI.

An account of what paſt as well in the German *as in the* Italian *branch of the Family from the death of* Matildis, *till* Otho *of* Eſté *Duke of* Brumſwick *was choſen Emperour.*

HAving inſiſted more largely upon *Matildis* actions than ſo compendious a Hiſtory will well bear, I return to her Family, which ſhe like an unnatural branch, drawing ſap from the root, and beſtowing elſewhere, had almoſt deſtroyed. Her Husband *Azo*, though he could never well digeſt the trouble conceived upon his divorce, yet lived long after, and with his Brother *Bertoldus* did meet *Henry* the fifth at his arri-

val in *Italy*, and had by the means of his Kinſman *Welpho* Duke of *Bavaria*, *Matildis* laſt Husband, a reception full of reſpect and kindneſs. The Emperour was not then to learn how much *Azo* or his Family had ſuffered by adhering to his Father, and therefore enlarged his priviledges, and gave him aſſurances of his protection; whether at that time he made known to the Emperour his juſt pretenſions to a ſhare of *Matildis*, Eſtate no Hiſtory that I have ſeen doth ſatisfie me; but it appears *Bertoldus*'s Son afterwards did highly reſent his having no reparation made him, and thereupon took Arms againſt the Emperour.

The concerns of the Family not diſpenſing with the abſence of both Brothers, *Azo* after ſome dayes ſpent with the Emperour, took his leave, and returned to *Eſté*. *Bertoldus* accompanied him to *Rome*, where he and *Welpho* were the perſons who compoſed all differences, and made a perfect reconciliation betwixt the Emperour and the Pope, upon the promiſe made by the latter, not to meddle in the affairs of *Germany*, which he

he and his predeceſſors had for many years embroiled; this gave *Bertoldus* great credit, and raiſed him ſo high in the Emperours confidence, that had not his Brothers death called him home, he muſt have gone into *Germany*; the reſt of his life being ſpent in governing his people, gives no great occaſion to the Hiſtorians to mention him, only we find at his death he left his Son *Rinaldus* very young, who afterwards prov'd ſo great a General in the Wars of *Milan* againſt *Frederick Barbaroſſa*. 1137.

The other branch of the Family of *Eſté* raiſed to infinite riches and power in *Germany*, calls us thither till *Rinaldus* comes of age, and if it be at all to be called a digreſſion, yet I preſume it will be no unpleaſant one to the Reader: *Henry* of *Eſté* Duke of *Bavaria* married the Daughter of *Lotharius* the third, who ſucceeded *Henry* the fifth, and after the death of his Father in Law made war upon *Conrard* the third, for violating the Agreement made with him at his Coronation; *Conrard* to eaſe himſelf of ſome part of the burden of the War, required

required the aſſiſtance of the Princes of the Empire in a Diet aſſembled for this purpoſe, in which he bitterly inveighed againſt *Henry*, yet contrary to his deſign, gave ample teſtimony both of the antiquity and greatneſs of the Family, as his Harangue ſtill extant ſhews; he makes *Henry* an Upſtart in *Germany* his great Grand-father, being the firſt that ſetled there, but at the ſame time he owns him to be of the blood of *Eſté*, deſcended of the Ancient *Roman* Family of the *Atii*, ſwell'd, as he ſayes, with the Names and Titles of his Anceſtors, he puts the Princes in mind of the treachery of *Henries* Anceſtor *Hugo*, who ſtirred up *Ardoinus* Marqueſs of *Eporædia* againſt *Henry* the ſecond: and laſt of all, he charges him with a deſign of over-turning the Ancient Conſtitutions of *Germany*, complaining that his Intereſt there joyned to that of his kindred in *Italy* was too like to effect it.

Henry's death gave him not leave to vindicate himſelf and his Family from *Conrards* aſperſions, but his Brother *Welpho* did it in another Aſſembly

bly to the ſatisfaction of all there preſent, that his Great Grand-father was a ſtranger in *Germany*, being of the blood of *Eſté*, and of the Illuſtrious Family of the *Atii*, he was not, he ſaid, aſhamed to own; but they all knew he was a *German* by his Great Grand-Mother, and that by her he inherited the rich Dutchy of *Bavaria*: That *Hugo* of *Eſté* had countenanced *Ardoinus* was true, but the Emperours reſolution to ruine him, had put him upon that courſe to prevent it, and that after their reconciliation no man did ever more faithfully or ſucceſsfully promote the Emperours Service: And laſtly, *Conrards* accuſation of their going about to ſubvert the Laws of *Germany*, he retorts upon himſelf for the unjuſt ſentence paſt againſt his Brother *Henry* and himſelf, by which they were deprived of all they poſſeſt: He gives warning to all the Princes to look to themſelves, and hoped if they did not joyn with him in ſo Juſt a Cauſe, that at leaſt they would approve of his taking Arms for the recovery of his Dutchies from *Conrard*, whom he looked

looked upon as the real ſubverter of the Ancient Laws of *Germany*.

The War then begun by *Henry* againſt *Conrard*, but being intermitted by his death, it was renewed by *Gwelfo*, and kindled ſuch a flame in *Germany*, as rivers of blood could ſcarce quench; the Nation was divided betwixt them, though not equally, for all the Princes that conſented to the forfeiture of the Dutchies of *Bavaria* and *Saxony* were engaged in honour to aſſiſt *Conrard*, and ſuch as enjoy'd the fruits of it could do no leſs. Some few of the Princes who had declared againſt *Conrards* ſevere proceedings with *Henry*, and the greateſt part of the *Bavarians* did joyn with *Gwelfo*: And what he wanted in *Germany* was made up from abroad, for *Roger* King of *Sicily* ſupplied him with vaſt ſums of money, which drew foreign troops to his Service, and four of the Princes
1145. of the houſe of *Eſté* raiſed what forces they could for him in *Italy*.

Some Writers make thoſe famous factions of *Gwelfs* and *Gibellins* which firſt appeared in *Germany*, and for many

many ages rent *Italy* to have had their riſe from this War, thoſe who were with the Emperour being called *Gibellins* from *Giblinga*, the place of *Conrard's* Nativity; and the others *Gwelfs* from *Gwelfo*, the head of their Party: And though moſt will have the original of theſe names to be of more ancient date, yet all muſt agree that they then began to be generally uſed to diſtinguiſh the *Imperialiſts* from the *Bavarians*; and afterwards in the wars of *Italy*, by *Gwelfs* were underſtood ſuch as favoured the Pope.

Gwelfo's Army was in the progreſs of the War ſo weaken'd, that not able to keep the field he went to *Winbergh* whither *Conrard* purſued him, and ſhut him up ſo cloſe, that the beſt terms he could obtain was, that he with his followers ſhould continue priſoners of War, and the place was to be expoſed to ſack; but *Gwelfo's* Princeſs who was there with her Husband, made it her humble ſute to *Conrard*, that ſhe with the Ladies of her Court might firſt be permitted to retire without any other baggage

gage than what they themſelves could carry; this requeſt being readily granted, they took their Husbands upon their backs, declaring as they paſt through the Camp, that theſe were the only Jewels they deſired to ſecure from *Conrard* and his Army; this generous act of the Princeſs and her Ladies did ſo ſurprize and pleaſe the Emperour, that he would ſee his word made good, and thereupon not only pardon'd but was reconciled to *Gwelfo*, giving him back ſome part of his Brothers inheritance: *Gwelfo* afterwards accompanied *Conrard* in his expedition to the *Holy Land*, which the treachery of the *Greeks* rendered inſucceſsfull; at his return he made ready an Army to go into *Italy* to receive the Imperial Crown, and deſigned to carry *Gwelfo* with him, of whoſe company he ſeem'd to be very fond, becauſe he durſt not leave him behind; but his journey being put off by his ſickneſs, he lived not to receive that honour, and though he left a Son, yet his Nephew *Frederick Barbaroſſa* ſucceeded him.

Frederick's firſt work was to cement

ment all the breaches of *Germany*, which he did with ſo much equity and diſcretion, that he gave ſatisfaction to all parties. His Mother was of the Houſe of *Bavaria*, and this made him willing to reſtore that Dutchy to the Son of *Henry*, and to his Uncle *Gwelfo* he gave all that the Emperours had recovered of *Matildis* Eſtate; which I confeſs was a doing right in ſome meaſure to the houſe of *Eſté*, but not to that part of it that had ſuffered moſt by her.

This brings us back to *Italy*, which we ſhall now find the chief Scene of Affairs, and *Rinaldus* of *Eſté* of age to be the chief Actor, for whoſe ſake we muſt give a more particular account of things, as they then ſtood when *Frederick* came thither.

The long abſence of an Emperour had brought Affairs into great diſorder, eſpecially in *Lombardy*, where every City form'd it ſelf into a ſort of Republick; and diſſenſions naturally ariſing betwixt them, there was no perſon that had either Authority to determine their differences, or power to ſee his determinations received.

The

The City of *Milan* affected the Dominion over all the reſt, had already made ſome ſubmit, and was every day encroaching upon others with an inſupportable inſolence. Many complaints were brought to the Emperour from moſt of the neighbour Cities, declaring, that they muſt ſubmit to the Queen of *Lombardy*, for ſo *Milan* ſtiled her ſelf, unleſs they had his protection. The Emperour promiſed to make what haſt he could towards them, and to put an end to all their quarrels. When he came to the *Lago di Garda* near *Verona*, he received the complements of the *Italian* Princes; amongſt others were *Boniface*, *Fulco*, *Opizo* and *Albertus* of *Eſté* his Kinſmen by his Mother who had all conferred on them ſpecial marks of his favour: But we find nothing of *Rinaldus* the Chief of the Family, who it is thought abſented himſelf, being highly diſguſted that *Matildis* Eſtate ſhould be ſetled by *Frederick* upon the *German* Line. The Emperour having rebuked thoſe of *Milan* and *Tortona* for their late carriage, and required them to make reparation for the

the injuries done their neighbours, went towards *Rome*, and being Crowned Emperour by *Adrian* the fourth he returned into *Germany*. 1155.

Freſh troubles in *Italy* called him ſoon back, but as his preſence converted all their Rebellion into Humility and Duty; ſo his being reconciled upon too eaſie terms to *Milan* and *Breſcia*, the authors of diſcord encouraged them to renew their practices when he was gone; and for *Adrian* if we honour him for his Countrey, as being of our neighbour-nation of *England*, we muſt condemn him for his malice againſt this great Emperour in fomenting their Rebellion. When *Frederick* came to *Italy* the third time, *Milan* and *Breſcia* had ſeveral other Towns joyn'd to them, and ſtood out a long ſiege; yet before he left them, they were made to accept of what conditions he pleaſed to impoſe, which yet were much more gentle than they, eſpecially *Milan* did deſerve, after having twice abuſed his clemency.

About this time *Adrian* the fourth dying, the Election of two Popes,

Alexander the third, and *Victor* the fourth occaſioned a new Schiſm more dangerous than any of the former: both writ to the Emperour then beſieging *Crema*, to confirm their Election; but he out of pure zeal for the peace of the Church refuſing to declare for either, called a Council at *Pavia*, where they were ſummoned to appear to have their Cauſe heard and determined by their Brethren the Biſhops. *Victor* came thither at the day appointed, but *Alexander* continued at *Rome*; whereupon the Council offended at his contempt, and judging his not appearance to flow from a diffidence in his Cauſe, gave it in favour of *Victor*, whom the Emperour did then confirm, and ſent Letters to the Kings of *France*, *England* and *Spain*, to give an account of what was there concluded.

Alexander was excommunicated by *Victor* at *Pavia*, *Frederick* and *Victor* by *Alexander* at *Rome*, and the parties being now irreconcilable, *Alexander* ſent a Legat to thoſe of *Milan* to declare them abſolved from the Oaths

Oaths they had lately ſworn, and not obliged to make good the Articles which neceſſity had extorted from them. *Milan* and the Confederate Cities took Arms immediately, and reſolving to carry on a formed War againſt the Emperour, invited *Rinaldus* Marqueſs of *Eſté* to be their General, who thinking himſelf injured and neglected by *Frederick*, did too readily undertake the Patronage of ſo unjuſt a Cauſe.

The Emperour judging his Army too weak to deal with ſo many, gave order for New Levies in *Germany*, which were finiſhed, and ſent with great expedition to *Italy*, the Kings likewiſe of *Bohemia*, *Denmark* and *Norway* came in perſon to his aſſiſtance with their choiceſt troops, ſo that when all his forces were united he had no leſs than ſeventy thouſand Foot, and forty thouſand Horſe; the Confederates likewiſe had made great preparations, *Rinaldus* of *Eſté* their General brought ſix thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe, *Breſcia*, *Bergamo* *Piacenza*, *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Padoua* and *Bologna*, ſent the

numbers agreed on; the general review was made at *Milan*, where according to moſt of the *Italian* Writers, they were fifty thouſand men well armed; the very firſt night the Emperour ſate down before *Milan Rinaldus* ordered a ſally at four ſeveral gates, which put the Imperial Army into ſuch confuſion, that the enemy was like to have diſpoſſeſt them of their Camp.

Rinaldus perceiving the Confederate Army to dwindle away inſenſibly, partly by Famine, and partly by Sickneſs, occaſion'd by their being ſhut up ſo cloſe in the hotteſt ſeaſon of the year, called a Council of War, where it was reſolved, That all ſhould be in readineſs next morning to bring the buſineſs to an iſſue; the whole Army being accordingly aſſembled in the great Market place, *Rinaldus* led them out into the Imperial Camp a little before noon, where falling in upon the *Danes* and *Norvegians* that were ſecure and unfit for action, by reaſon of the great heat, he did ſo great execution, that no perſwaſion could make them continue the ſiege longer,

longer, and their marching off did ſo diſhearten the reſt, that the Emperour thought beſt to follow them; *Rinaldus* purſued him in his retreat, but the Emperour not able to bear this affront, and conſidering his Army to be ſtill the more numerous, offered him battle; *Rinaldus* to make up the diſproportion in the number by the advantage of the ground, poſted himſelf upon a hill, dividing his Army into four parts; he gave the Van towards the plain to his Son *Azo* and *Torriſedi* Governour of *Verona*, the *Milan* Troops were placed at ſome diſtance behind, thoſe of *Bergamo*, *Breſcia* and *Piacenza* had the top of the hill, and the General himſelf retired to the other ſide out of the enemies view.

The King of *Bohemia* commanded one Wing of the Imperial Army, the Kings of *Denmark* and *Norway* another; *Frederick* with the Duke of *Bavaria* ſtood in the middle.

The King of *Bohemia*'s Wing began the fight about noon with *Azo* and *Torriſedi*, and for a long time it was doubtfull to which Party victory

enclined, till the King being wounded and carried back to the Camp half dead, his men retired in diſorder; *Azo* encouraged by this, and ſeconded by the Troops of *Milan*, bore all down before him till he came to the main Body, where the Emperour with his *German* Horſe ſuſtained his charge, killed thoſe who led the Troops of *Milan*, and took *Azo* priſoner. They upon the top of the hill who hitherto had no occaſion to act, ſeeing the reſt in diſtreſs marched briskly down to their aſſiſtance; and while the Imperialiſts bent their Forces that way, thinking the whole Confederate Army was now engaged, *Rinaldus* came with ſuch violence upon their Rere, that they preſently gave ground and marched off, with his own hand he took the Imperial Standard, and followed the Emperour ſo cloſe, that he was obliged to the darkneſs of the night for his eſcape; but the news of his Sons being carried off priſoner did much abate the joy of his ſucceſs; nor could any arguments prevail on the Emperour to give him up ſo long as his Father lived. It is believed, if this

this advantage had been purſued, the Emperours Affairs in *Italy* might ſoon have been brought to a weak paſs; but the Confederate Troops, as if they had already done enough, went all home to their own Cities to receive the applauſe and carreſſes of their friends, and could never again be united. *Rinaldus* alſo gave up his Commiſſion, not willing to exaſperate the Emperour while he had ſuch an Hoſtage from his Family; nor could the Emperour make ſure any other wayes of one who did ſo unjuſtly head the Confederates, that had ſo often violated their Duty, and failed in their promiſes to their Prince.

Frederick had been alwayes hitherto Victorious, and now his Fortune ſeemed to decline, having after this manner beſieged *Milan* ſeveral months to little purpoſe, and at laſt retired with ſo great loſs; but this blow did rather haſten his ſucceſs, for being doubtfull what courſe to take, the news was brought him of the Confederates being gone, and this encouraged him to return to the ſiege of

Milan ſooner than they expected; the City ſeeing it ſelf abandon'd ſent to capitulate with the Emperour, but he abſolutely refuſed to agree to any terms, telling them that he expected to enter at a breach in their Walls as a Conquerour, and to treat them accordingly; whereupon truſting to his Clemency their Gates were opened; the Emperour then mindfull how perfidiouſly they had dealt with him, commanded all the Inhabitants to depart within three dayes, and the City to be razed to the ground; and upon the fourth day after, he entered at a breach with his whole Army to ſee his Sentence put in execution; the neighbour Cities were forward enough to revenge the injuries received in pulling down each a part; the wretched Inhabitants ſtanding without the Walls to expreſs their ſorrow in cryes and tears when they ſaw the deplorable fall of the City: *Novara* pull'd down one quarter, *Cremona* another, *Como* a third, and *Lode* a fourth, Churches and Convents,
1162. Hoſpitals and Palaces, without reſpect were thrown down, nothing except

two

two ſmall Chappels of all that ſtately City was left ſtanding; the very Broglio or great Market-place was ſow'd with Salt: And thus *Milan* which had long aſpired to the Soveraignty of *Lombardy*, and which for its largeneſs, its beauty, and the number as well as riches of its Citizens began to emulate *Rome*, felt in a few dayes this terrible deſolation, as a juſt reward of its inſolence to its Neighbours, and of its perfidy to an indulgent Prince, who had already three ſeveral times pardon'd its rebellion.

The deſtruction of *Milan*, the ſubmiſſion of all the other Cities, and the changing the Ancient Magiſtrates into Imperial *Podeſta*'s ſeem'd to ſecure the Peace of *Italy* for many years: Yet the haughty carriage of theſe new Miniſters in the Emperours abſence, and the Arts of Pope *Alexander* drew on in a ſhort time a freſh Rebellion: they wanted only a Head, and knew by former experience, that none could either do them credit or ſervice like *Rinaldus*, but his tenderneſs for his Son was ſuch, that no perſwaſions could engage him again.

If

If *Rinaldus* of *Eſté*'s denying to joyn with the Confederates, did at firſt retard their motions, the baſeneſs of *Henry* of *Bavaria*, one of the ſame Family did afterwards ſpoil the Emperours Affairs, when he was in a fair way to reduce all; he was the Emperours Couſin, and had been reſtored to the greateſt part of his Fathers Dominions at the ſame time that his Uncle *Guelpho* had thoſe of *Matildis* given him in *Italy:* Yet upon a vain ſcruple ariſing from *Alexanders* Excommunication he left him when he had moſt occaſion for him and his Troops. The Emperour went after him to perſwade him to return, but no arguments nor condeſcenſion in the Emperour could work upon an obſtinate humour, cloak'd with a pretence to conſcience: Nor was it only the loſs of him and his followers, for his example was like to draw others away; ſo that the Emperour perceiving the ill diſpoſition of his Army infected by the very air of that rebellious Countrey, ſent to *Alexander* to procure his reconciliation; this he obtained indeed, but upon ſuch terms,

that

that it is hard to ſay, whether *Alexander* the third, or *Gregory* the ſeventh treated an Emperour with moſt inſolence; what *Gregory* did at the Caſtle of *Cannoſſa* only with *Matildis*, *Alexander* may be ſaid to have done ſolemnly in the face of the whole Senate and people of *Venice*.

The Emperour finding his kindneſs to *Henry* of *Bavaria* ſo little conſidered, turn'd him out of all, and *Henry* who had married a Daughter of *England*, fled thither for protection, where he ſtay'd, till by that Kings interceſſion the Dutchies of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburgh* were reſtored to him by the Emperour; in this his former greatneſs was indeed much impaired, yet ſtill he continued in the firſt rank of *German* Princes, which figure his ſucceſſors have ever ſince ſuſtained to the great honour of the Family of *Eſté* from which they are ſprung.

Two years before died *Rinaldus* the moſt popular Prince, and the greateſt General of the *Italian* Nation in that time. Whereever he appeared his reputation brought an Army 1175.

my together, and he had been ſucceſsfull in all his undertakings, but the badneſs of the Cauſe he all along eſpouſed did much leſſen the glory of his actions. The latter part of his life affords nothing remarkable beſides the taking *Rovigo*, becauſe the Emperour knowing his reſtleſs ſpirit, would never part with his Son, by whoſe confinement he was ſure to bind *Rinaldus* to his good behaviour.

When the Emperour had the news of *Rinaldus*'s death, he call'd to him *Azo*, ſhew'd him how much his Father had been his Enemy, how ill *Henry* of *Bavaria* had requited his favours, and how both being his near Kinſmen had been conſequently moſt of all perſons obliged to promote his ſervice and honour: Yet that the former had been a great Inſtrument in the Rebellion of *Milan*, the latter of his unſeaſonable accommodation with the Pope; but that the world might ſee he had no deſign to deſtroy their Family, nor to revenge the Fathers guilt upon the Son from whom better returns might be expected,

pected, he freely diſmiſt him, that he might go and enjoy what *Rinaldus* had left, adding thereunto the Government of *Milan* granted formerly by *Otho* the *Great* to his Anceſtor *Hugo*. *Azo*'s unexpected advancement gave great joy to thoſe who wiſh'd well to his Houſe, but he died before he could expreſs his ſenſe of the Emperours Generoſity, and left this as a debt upon his Couſin *Opizo* who ſucceeded him.

Opizo's riſe did beget great emulation in the breaſts of two powerfull Neighbours, and the moſt dangerous Enemies the Family of *Eſté* ever dealt with, *Salinguerra Taurellus* of *Ferrara*, and *Actiolinus* of *Onara*, who had married *Rinaldus*'s Daughter: the former was a man of extraordinary parts, the latter a ſtout Captain, and both of them were enflam'd with ambition, which *Opizo*'s greatneſs ſeem'd to check; *Salinguerra* poſſeſt the people of *Ferrara* with an Opinion that the Marqueſs of *Eſté* deſign'd their ruine, whereupon they came to acts of hoſtility with his Subjects without further examining the buſineſs. *Actiolinus*

1184. *tiolinus* raiſing a Title by his Wife to *Rovigo* ſeized upon it, agreeing with *Salinguerra* to joyn Forces in caſe the Marqueſs prov'd too hard for either; the difference with *Ferrara* was ſoon made up, when it appeared that *Salinguerra* had created this miſunderſtanding, only to compaſs his own ends: And as ill grounded jealouſie when diſſolved, makes ſometimes way for the moſt laſting friendſhip; ſo the Marqueſs, and thoſe of *Ferrara* were hereby provoked to mutual offices of kindneſs and confidence, the Marqueſs to confute *Salinguerra's* calumnies did effectually intercede with *Henry* the ſixth in behalf of *Ferrara* to retrieve ſome priviledges, which that Cities undutifull carriage to his Father had loſt: And this friendly act did ſo affect them, that they never ceaſed till the Marqueſs ſent his Son *Azo* to live among them: And from that inſtant we may date the houſe of *Eſté's* taking ſure footing in *Ferrara*, which afterwards proved ſo happy under its influence. *Actiolinus* was more obſtinate, refuſing to reſtore *Rovigo* till *Henry* the ſixth

ſixth interpoſed his Authority. *Actiolinus* afterwards to ſecure the Emperours favour, and to ſtrengthen his party againſt the Marqueſs, declared himſelf Head of the *Gibellin* Faction, which obliged *Opizo* to take upon him the protection of the *Guelphs*.

Theſe *German* Factions began in *Italy* during *Frederick*'s War with *Alexander* the third, and were by the ſowers of Sedition improved to that degree under *Frederick* the ſecond, that they divided the whole Nation, they put all the Families at variance with one another, and the Cities into Civil Wars within themſelves; and if any were indifferent in their judgment, for their own ſecurity they were forced to declare themſelves of either Party. Sometimes one Brother would be a *Gibellin*, that is, for the Emperour, and the other a *Guelph* for the Pope; and thereupon forgetting all the tyes of Nature, would mortally hate and perſecute one another; robberies, aſſaſſinations, and all ſorts of violence and revenge were allow'd againſt thoſe of the contrary Faction: and the breach being once made

made was too like to continue, seeing the wayes of uniting them were cut off, no man could expect reparation by Justice which lay dead; and the Families of one Faction could hardly be perswaded to match with those of the other: Their publick meetings did for the most part end in quarrels, and in the streets they used to point at one another as Traytors or Renegadoes. Nor was the long duration less strange than the violence of these Factions, for though the flame did not always burn with equal fury, being sometimes stifled several years, and then breaking out again; yet it lasted almost four hundred years (from *Frederick Barbarossa*'s time till the Reign of *Charles* the fifth) before it was quite extinct. Upon strict enquiry I find the better sort can still tell which Families were *Guelphs*, and which *Gibellins* in several places, but they have now laid aside all rancour or malice upon this score.

Actiolinus was now grown a very uneasie Neighbour: with an Army of *Padouans* he went towards *Vicenza* and *Verona*, pillaging and burning all where

where he came, the People of *Verona* did in this ſtrait caſt their eyes upon *Azo Opizo's* Son, who with ſuch as follow'd him from *Ferrara* and *Eſté* fought *Acziolin* near *Bachilio*, and took five hundred of his Party priſoners. It is probable *Azo* was chiefly employ'd in this ſervice, becauſe *Opizo* did then lie ill, and died a few dayes after.

This early proof of *Azo* the ſevenths valour ſeem'd to preſage great happineſs under his Government, 1193.
which made them receive him at *Eſté* upon his return with extraordinary expreſſions of joy; and there he continued ſome time till his friends at *Ferrara* troubled to loſe the only perſon that could curb *Salinguerra*, found a charm to bring him back. His Wife the Count of *Savoy's* Daughter, by whom he had ſeveral Children, was lately dead; they therefore propoſed to him a match with a Lady of their City, who for riches and intereſt exceeded all that liv'd in thoſe parts; her Uncle was the Chief Magiſtrate, and the much richeſt Nobleman of *Ferrara*, who beſides what he had

there, was also Hereditary Governour of the *Mark* of *Ancona*, to all which having no Issue, his Niece was to succeed. This was too advantageous a proffer for *Azo* to neglect, and *Salinguerra*'s endeavouring to hinder it, did bring it on the sooner; they were married privately, and afterwards received by the Magistrates and People of *Ferrara* at their coming thither, with all the formalities of Princes.

Salinguerra highly enraged went to the Emperour who was then in *Sicily*, with heavy Articles against *Azo*; first, that he design'd to make himself absolute Master of all the Cities near him, as he had already done of *Ferrara*, and that with his ambition he discovered a hatred to the Emperour and his Government: Secondly, that he could not forbear to express his resentment of their Families having lost the Dutchies of *Bavaria* and *Saxony*; and thirdly, that of all his Ancestors he did most extol *Rinaldus*, whom it was plain he intended to imitate by making himself Head of the *Guelphs* his Majesties professed enemies.

enemies. Theſe words of *Salinguerra*, ſet out with all the advantage of Eloquence, of which he was a great Maſter, did ſo work upon *Henry* the ſixth, that it was thought, if he had liv'd to come back it would have gone ill with *Azo*.

In the Election of a New Emperour *Germany* was divided betwixt *Philip Henries* Brother, and *Otho* of *Eſté* Duke of *Brunſwick* a Nephew of *England*, nor could the matter be accommodated till *Otho* marrying *Philips* Daughter wav'd his pretenſions to the Crown at preſent, upon condition he ſhould enjoy it after his Father-in-Laws death. *Salinguerra* at his return from *Sicily* renewed his Confederacy againſt the Marqueſs by marrying the Daughter of *Actiolinus* while *Azo* retired to *Eſté* upon the death of his Wife. No 1200.
ſooner was he gone but *Salinguerra* began to bear ſway after his old manner, and not content to be abſolute at home by his Father in Laws means he got to be Podeſtá of *Verona*.

Every one could eaſily gueſs what *Actiolinus* and he aimed at, but none

in *Verona* had the courage to oppoſe them, except Count *Boniface*, who told the people plainly, they were haſting towards ſlavery, and that the only way to ſave them, was, to ſeek to the Marqueſs of *Eſté*'s protection: Moſt agreeing with the Counts motion, they ſent to *Azo*, who marched thither, encountered *Actiolinus* and *Salinguerra* in the Market-place, took the former priſoner, while the other eſcaped; and reſtored the City to its Ancient Freedom. Upon advice that many were fled to *Peſcera*, he went and beſieged the place, and upon its ſurrender diſmiſt the Common Soldiers, but ſent the Officers priſoners to *Eſté*, with thoſe that were taken at *Verona*, he ſet *Actiolinus* at liberty upon his bare promiſe, not to give any diſturbance afterwards to him or his friends. The news of *Azo*'s ſucceſs drew all whom *Salinguerra* baniſhed to his Party, with whom going directly to *Ferrara* he chaſed *Salinguerra* and his adherents thence, and put the Government into the hands of his own friends, promiſing his aſſiſtance upon the leaſt notice of *Salinguerra*'s

linguerra's being about to attempt any thing.

Next year was yet more favourable to the Houſe of *Eſté* by the advancement of *Otho* to the Imperial Crown. In his journey towards *Rome* he was met by *Azo* and his Sons near *Verona*, whom he received and treated as his Kinſmen, he compoſed their differences with *Actiolinus* and *Salinguerra*, and deſired that for his ſake all the priſoners at *Eſté* might be ſet at liberty. The Marqueſs continued with him till the Ceremony of his Coronation was over, and then that the Family might reap ſome advantage as well as honour by his dignity, he gave to *Azo* the Principality of *Verona*, together with the final appeal of the Province, and likewiſe the Government of the *Mark* of *Ancona*, with ſeveral Caſtles belonging to *Vicenza*: Where among the motives inducing the Emperour hereunto, expreſs mention is made of their kindred, as appears by the Grant yet extant. 1209.

CHAP. VII.

The irreconcileable differences of the Guelphs *and* Gibbellins, *with the Marqueſs of* Eſté's *getting* Ferrara, *and the death of the moſt infamous Tyrant* Actiolin, *and of his Brother* Albericus.

THE Crown was not well ſetled upon *Otho*'s head when *Innocent* the third gave it away to *Frederick* the ſecond, pretending that *Otho* had broke his Coronation Oath, and forfeited his Dignity by invading the Dominions of *Frederick*, and of the Church: Whether the Pope were more injuſt in ſetting *Otho* up to oppoſe *Philip*, or in degrading him now to advance *Frederick*, whom he himſelf had formerly injured, I leave to others to decide. But plain it is, that no Apology can be made for *Azo*'s behaviour in this juncture, ſeeing he who had ſo lately been own'd for *Otho*'s Kinſman, and had received ſo freſh marks of his favour, was the moſt forward of all the Nobility of *Lom-*

Lombardy to countenance the Popes ſentence, and declare for *Frederick*. By his means were *Otho*'s Garriſons turned out of moſt of the Cities of *Tuſcany*; and ſo great was his zeal for the Cauſe, and ſo entirely did the party confide in him, that he had the young Prince committed to his truſt till he got ſafe into *Germany*: This rendered him ſtill more conſiderable among the *Guelphs*, who were become too ſtrong for the other Party by *Otho*'s depreſſion; but while they were projecting how to model the Government of *Lombardy* after their own way, *Azo*'s death broke all their meaſures.

Salinguerra hoping to find in his Son *Aldobrandinus* a perſon eaſie to deal with, would not ſtand to the treaty made with *Azo* a little before his death, complaining that he had been over-reached in it; beſides, he conſidered, if the Marqueſs once got *Modena* and *Regio* into his hands, as he was like to do, with what grief he muſt from the Walls of *Ferrara* ſee himſelf ſurrounded on every ſide with the Territories of the Houſe of

Eſté, and therefore made what haſt he could to come to a breach before he were in a manner ſhut up at home. Notice being given to the Marqueſs of *Salinguerra*'s intentions, he ſent to *Bologna* the guaranty of the Peace betwixt *Salinguerra* and his Father, to demand their aſſiſtance; they who knew *Salinguerra* to be a man of a reſtleſs temper, that obſerv'd no agreement longer than it made for his advantage, joyned with the Marqueſs, and marched towards *Ferrara*, which they took without great reſiſtance; and *Salinguerra* retired to a Caſtle belonging to *Modena*, from whence by frequent excurſions he did greatly annoy the other Party; but perceiving them reſolved to have the place, he engaged *Bologna* to intercede with the Marqueſs, that upon ſurrender he might have leave to return to *Ferrara* with ſolemn proteſtations, that he would give him no further diſturbance.

The difference with *Salinguerra* was the ſooner made up, becauſe the danger *Eſté* was in by *Actiolin* and the *Padouans* called for ſpeedy relief from

from the Marqueſs, who juſt got back in time to ſave it. A Party in the *Mark* of *Ancona* commanded by the Count of *Celano* declared anew for *Otho*, pillaging and burning every place that would not joyn with them. *Aldobrandinus*, to whom that Government did of right belong, though the Counts of *Celano* alwayes diſputed it, went thither, fought *Otho*'s Party, killed the Count, for which *Innocent* gave him the Title of Marqueſs of *Ancona*; and having thus in a ſhort time humbled *Salinguerra*, raiſed the ſiege of *Eſté*, and recovered his Authority in the *Mark*: He died ſuddenly in the flower of his age, not without ſuſpition of poiſon given him by one of his Servants, whom the Count of *Celano*'s Brother had corrupted: he left two Daughters, whom we ſhall mention hereafter. 1216.

The Enemies of the Family of *Eſté* got nothing by *Aldobrandin*'s death, his Brother *Azo* the eighth, or as ſome will have him the ninth who ſucceeded him, being a perſon for his skill both in the Arts of Peace and War, well qualified for thoſe difficult times.

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The firſt thing he did after quelling an Inſurrection in *Ancona*, was to ſettle at *Ferrara*, that ſo he might have an eye upon *Salinguerra*'s motions, whom he knew ready to take advantage of every change, and *Salinguerras* Opinion of *Azo* kept them ſeveral years on good terms; but the flame that was ſmother'd and not extinct, did too eaſily break out again; and now all began to declare themſelves openly *Guelphs* or *Gibellins*. *Salinguerra* being gone Podeſtá to *Mantoua*, the *Guelphs* in a popular tumult pulled down his Pallace, deſtroy'd his fine Gardens, broke his Statues in pieces, and made havock of every thing they met with. This news did ſo incenſe him, that coming upon them unexpected, he killed every *Guelph* he found, and by the help of the *Gibellins* forced the Marqueſs to leave the City to his mercy. This Civil War which none can deny *Azo*'s Party began, did for three years plague *Ferrara*; ſometimes the Marqueſs and the *Guelphs* had the better, ſometimes none were to be ſeen but *Gibellins*; thoſe that prevailed were

were ſure to pull down all the good houſes that belonged to the other Party; ſo that at laſt the City lay in a heap of rubbiſh, and of thirty two Steeples that were in it when *Salinguerra* went to *Mantoua*, not one was left ſtanding.

The Marqueſs aſſiſted by *Verona* and *Padoua* ſhut *Salinguerra* ſo cloſe up within *Ferrara*, that he ſeemed willing to come to any accommodation; but when Count *Boniface* upon his Invitation went in to treat with him, moſt perfidiouſly he kept him priſoner, telling him withall, that as *Azo* was obliged to the Troops of *Verona* for the advantage he now had, ſo he expected his own terms before he parted with him. *Azo*'s tenderneſs for Count *Boniface* whom he judged in great danger, made him yield to ſuch things as *Salinguerra* durſt never otherwiſe have propoſed; for it was agreed, that all the *Gibellins* baniſhed by the Marqueſs as well as the *Guelphs* by *Salinguerra*, ſhould have leave to return, and be again poſſeſt of their Eſtates, and of the grounds where their houſes had ſtood,

for

for very few of them were left entire, that all places and truſts ſhould be divided betwixt them, that *Salinguerra* ſhould continue at *Ferrara*, but the Marqueſs might not come thither above twice a year, and then he was to leave moſt of his train without the Gates, and to ſtay only a few dayes. This Peace beyond all mens expectation laſted fifteen years, which helped much to repair the ruines of the City.

About this time *Actiolinus*, the declared head of the *Gibellins*, after having long glutted himſelf with blood, cruelty and oppreſſion, renounced the world to dedicate the ruines of his old age to a Monaſtick life, leaving a Son of the ſame name, who carried on the diviſions of *Italy*, and out-vied him in all manner of wickedneſs. *Salinguerra* could not expect to better himſelf by falling out again with the Marqueſs; yet that he might one day or other make work for him, he underhand employed all his intereſt to get *Actiolin* the younger created Podeſtá of *Verona*, by which that Party was much ſtrengthen'd.

1226.

If

If things went ill with the *Guelphs* where *Actiolinus* and *Salinguerra* were in Authority, the *Gibellins* made as great complaints of their hard uſage in *Ancona*, where the Marqueſs being abſolute Maſter, was much encouraged in his ſeverities by *Honorius* the third, and *Gregory* the ninth; the latter ſeeing *Frederick* engaged in the Holy War thought to ſeize upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, and communicating his Deſign to *Azo*, found him too ready to engage in it; nor could any thing but the Emperours ſpeedy return have prevented them.

No wonder if *Frederick* were much offended with the Pope and *Azo*'s proceedings, and they conſcious of their guilt armed the *Guelphs*, leſt the Emperour ſhould attempt any thing againſt them, which made *Actiolinus* and his Party not think themſelves ſecure, unleſs they were in the ſame poſture; ſo that for a long time in form'd Armies they lay in wait for one another, and put a ſtop not only to all manner of Trade, which much impoveriſhed Corporations, but alſo to agriculture, upon which

which a Famine was like to enſue: Both Parties being at length tired out, and their brutal fury in ſome meaſure ſpent, firſt a ceſſation of Arms, then a Peace was concluded and ſealed with the marriage of *Actiolins* Niece to *Rinaldus Azo*'s Son.

Andrew the ſecond of *Hungary* in his return from *Rome* was entertained by *Azo* at *Eſté*, where charmed with the beauty of *Beatrix*, *Aldobrandin*'s Daughter, and her Uncles Magnificence, he demanded her in Marriage, and *Azo* conſenting to it, ſhe was ſent after him into *Hungary* with a Noble Train; a few months after *Andrew* died leaving the Queen with Child, and ſhe apprehending her ſelf in danger from the next Heir of the Crown, retired to her Friends in *Italy*, where ſhe was brought to bed of *Stephen*, Father to *Andrew* the third King of *Hungary*. Her younger Siſter *Alexina* was married to *Albert* Duke of *Brunſwick*.

1237.

The Peace betwixt *Azo* and *Actiolin* at beſt ſignified little, ſeeing their acts of hoſtility were ſcarce ever diſcontinued; but *Gregory* the ninth, taking

taking occaſion to quarrel with the Emperour for refuſing to go again into *Syria*, brought things to a worſe paſs than before: they had drawn the *Guelphs* and *Gibellins* into bodies, openly defying one another; the Emperour upon his Excommunication was marching towards *Rome*; and *Salinguerra* was entering upon the laſt and moſt Tragical Act of his Life, which I muſt not paſs in ſilence.

The *Venetians* required a certain acknowledgement for all goods carried up the *Pó* to *Ferrara*, which *Salinguerra* was not willing to pay; and their ſhips being ſent to lye at the mouth of the River to hinder any thing to enter, *Salinguerra* with what Boats he could make came upon them, and after a ſharp diſpute had the better, taking ſome, which he brought to *Ferrara* as Trophies of his Victory over the *Venetian* Navy. The Republick not able to digeſt this affront, joyned with the *Guelphs* to be revenged upon *Salinguerra*, who ſuſpecting ſome deſign upon the City did haſten his ruine by commanding all of that Faction to be gone,

and

and receiving *Germans* in their place.

This was declared to be a plain breach of the Treaty with *Azo*, who thereupon being choſen General againſt him, went towards *Ferrara* in the beginning of *February*, accompanied by the Dogé of *Venice*, the Popes Legate *Boniface*, and many of the Chief Nobility of thoſe parts; *Salinguerra* made for four months a ſtout reſiſtance, till Proviſions beginning to fail, without any proſpect of ſupply, the Land Army having deſtroyed the Harveſt, the *Venetian* Navy blocked up the River, and the *Germans* growing mutinous, *Hugo Rambertus*, a man of great Authority, did in the name of the City deſire him to make peace with *Azo*. *Salinguerra* had no diſpoſition towards it, yet yielded to *Hugo*'s importunity, and upon the Generals, the Dogés and the Legates promiſe, that he ſhould be permitted to return ſafe into the City, ventured out into the Enemies Camp to treat.

The Legate was for ſeizing immediately upon *Salinguerra*, pretending that no faith was to be kept to one

that

that had broken his ſo often, but the Marqueſs would by no means agree to it, at laſt it was concerted among them, that leaving the General in the Camp with the Army, the reſt ſhould accompany him ſafe into the Town to make good their word, and there make him priſoner; and while *Salinguerra* entertained them at a ſumptuous Banquet he was laid hold upon, clap'd in chains, and ſent in a Galley to *Venice*, where he died ſoon after in the eightieth year of his age. This we muſt ſay of *Salinguerra*, that no man ever took more pains to bring trouble upon himſelf, nor uſed greater addreſs to be diſ-intangled: Moſt of his actions ſhew how little he was obliged to Fortune, though much to Nature, being of a gracefull perſon, affable, bold, eloquent and bountifull, all which helped to make him popular; but thoſe bleſſings were overballanced by cruelty, diſſimulation and ambition; that at laſt he had hard meaſure cannot be denied; yet his treacherous carriage to others made his fall the leſs pitied.

Salinguerra's death brought the

Marqueſs a ſufficient reward for all the pains and danger undergon in behalf of *Ferrara*, the whole City in a body, with the Biſhop, declaring him their Prince, to whom they were willing to commit their Lives and Fortunes, without tying him to any other Rules of Government than what his Prudence and Goodneſs ſhould judge moſt for the Cities advantage. The *Venetians* for the charge and trouble they had been at in this Expedition, were allowed to ſettle a Magiſtrate there, whoſe Authority in all their Councils was for ſome time great, but after a few years limited by the Marqueſs to ſuch things as immediately concerned the Republick. The Popes Legate alſo took upon him to confirm in his Maſters Name the Cities choice of the Marqueſs, which at firſt appeared no more than a matter of Ceremony, but was ſtrangely made uſe of afterwards to prove the Popes Title to that City. This *Azo*'s Succeſſors found by ſad experience, when allowed only to be feudatary Princes, they were at laſt forced to part with that to the Church,

Church, which they owed to the peoples Free Choice; and in truth it was a high piece of injuſtice, by them called ſubtilty, for the Pope to pretend to give away what was not his own, that ſo he might call it back at his pleaſure.

Aciolin had with grief beheld the fall of *Salinguerra*, and the ruine of his Party in *Ferrara*, by the advancement of the Marqueſs, which he prevented as long as he could, and waited only for an occaſion to do miſchief, which alwayes comes too ſoon. *Gregory* the ninth, *Azo*'s beſt friend being dead, the Emperours Arms threatning the *Guelphs*, and the Marqueſs being employed at *Ferrara*, *Aciolin* upon a ſudden falls into his Countries of *Eſté* and *Rovigo*, made prey of whatever was worth carrying away, burnt the reſt with the villages, and killed without reſpect to ſex or age, all the perſons he met with, and returned to *Padoua* which had for ſome time groan'd under his yoke. The Marqueſs with his Army went thither and ſate down before it, knowing how much *Aciolin* was hated; but

this coſt many of the *Padouan* Nobility dear; for being ſuſpected to have encouraged the Marqueſs in this attempt, without further proof, they were by the Tyrants order moſt barbarouſly murdered. To relate all the
1246. particulars that paſt betwixt *Actiolin* and the Marqueſs, were to give an entire Hiſtory for many years of the *Guelphs* and *Gibellins* of *Lombardy*, who acted nothing remarkable but in their preſence, or by their direction; I adviſe the Reader then, who deſires to be informed of the moſt remarkable paſſages of ſeveral years, till we come towards *Actiolin's* death, form within himſelf Ideas of the greateſt confuſion, murders and villanies practicable, and in theſe look back upon the deplorable ſtate of *Italy* in that time.

Conrard after the death of the Emperour *Frederick* cauſed ſome to poiſon *Rinaldus Azo's* Son, who had been many years kept priſoner in the Kingdom of *Naples*; but his Son *Opizo* eſcaped to his Grand-Father with the news of *Rinaldus's* death. It was no ſtrange thing that *Conrard* ſhould deal

deal thus with the Son of his greateſt Enemy, if it be true which is reported, that he helped to diſpatch the Emperour his Father; and this may in a great part excuſe his Brother *Manfred* for poiſoning him.

Manfred did Arm mightily in *Naples*, and encouraged *Actiolin* to do the ſame in *Lombardy*: his Neighbours to whom he was grown terrible without any other Army than his conſtant train, knew what they might expect, if the *Gibellins* were brought together under ſuch a General; this made the *Venetians*, the *Pope*, and the 1256.
Marqueſs of *Ferrara* enter into a ſtrict Confederacy againſt *Actiolin*; and that Forces might be raiſed with the more expedition, it was declared a Croiſado, and plenary indulgences were granted at *Bologna*, *Ferrara* and other places through which the Popes Legate paſt, to ſuch as ſhould engage in ſo pious a War; and indeed *Actiolin* had ſo laid aſide all ſentiments of humanity, that at *Padoua* where he did moſt reſide few dayes paſt without inſtances of ſignal cruelty, to be only baniſhed, though with

the loſs of Eſtate, was thought no ſmall favour, for by this means life was ſecured, which no innocence could do at home; his fury oftentimes broke out againſt thoſe who thought themſelves moſt his favourites, and who had really deſerved beſt of him: In a word, all within his reach, and he had then a long arm, did tremble under the apprehenſion of his wrath.

Actiolin upon the news of the Confederates march, and of their deſign upon *Padoua*, not willing to meet them, nor judging it for his reputation to be beſieged there, left the place with a good Garriſon to his Nephew, and went in perſon to beſiege *Mantoua*, as if he had apprehended no danger behind him; but this act of vanity loſt him *Padoua*, which having made a ſhort and a faint reſiſtance was taken by aſſault: Moſt of the Inhabitants, inſtead of ſeeking for lurking places, as is uſual upon ſuch occaſions, run to meet the Marqueſs and Legate at their entry, falling down at their feet, ready to adore them, as ſent from God, to deliver

liver their City from ſo horrid a Tyrant; and then walking before in a Solemn Proceſſion to the Great Church, with a good heart they ſung *Te Deum*. From the Church they went to the priſons, freeing fifteen hundred from their chains in one place, ſix hundred in another, beſides many Women of quality, who had not ſeen the light, nor their friends, nor known how things went in the world for ſeveral years. Upon the ſurrender of the Caſtle, the whole City run to ſee that place of which next to hell they were moſt afraid, it having been of a long time the infamous Theatre of *Actiolins* cruelty: Upon ſearch, in the Dungeons above four hundred and ſixty perſons were found ſo pined away with hunger, and covered with filth, that none preſent could know them, either by their voices or countenances, though afterwards moſt of them proved to be *Padouans*. The great number and variety of Inſtruments of torment, with the heaps of dead bodies that filled the corners of thoſe loathſom apartments, did ſtrike the beholders with

amazement. And indeed as other great Men delight in ſtately Palaces, and fine Gardens, *Actiolin*'s whole ſtudy was employed in thoſe helliſh Inventions; his priſon was a Laberinth in which he commanded the perſon who preſented him the Model to be ſhut firſt up to ſee if it were ſo ingeniouſly contrived as he pretended; and it is certain, as many thouſands ended their dayes in it, ſo neither the unhappy contriver, nor any other ever found the way out, to come and give the world an account of it, till the Marqueſs and the Legate got thither.

While *Padoua* was expreſſing its joy for ſo unexpected a deliverance, it went ill with the poor *Padouans* at *Verona*, *Actiolin* happened to arrive from the ſiege of *Mantoua* at the ſame time with this unwelcom news; and the poor Meſſenger who innocently reported it was by his order immediately put to death; but it being in a few hours confirmed by many of his Officers who had made their eſcape, *Actiolin* commanded his Army to be lodged within the City, and the Gates

to

to be ſhut up, and all the *Padouans* who were there, either under confinement, or ſoldiers in the Army, or Officers of his Houſe to be apprehended and killed; and ſo punctually was he obeyed by his Guards, and the other Miniſters of his Cruelty, that in a weeks time, of eleven thouſand only twenty eight remained alive.

Having offered up ſuch a bloody ſacrifice to his wrath, as hardly any Hiſtory can parallel, he marched towards *Padoua*, but finding it was not to be recovered at his return to *Verona*, thoſe twenty eight, whom in regard of the ſingular ſervices done him, he had formerly exempted from the common butchery, were all hanged in the Market place. Then joyning with *Pallavicino* and ſome other *Gibellins*, he beat the Legates Army, took himſelf priſoner, and got into *Breſcia* almoſt upon as eaſie terms as the Marqueſs and the Legate had *Padoua*: But his allowing no ſhare in the Conqueſt to thoſe who aſſiſted him, made *Pallavicino* go over to the Marqueſs for whom the honour of ruining *Actiolin* was reſerved; for while

while he was attempting no leſs than the Conqueſt of *Milan*, the Marqueſs and *Pallavicino* gave him battle, and having the advantage, they ſo purſued it, that *Actiolin* with five horſe only endeavouring to recover *Bergamo*, was over-taken before he got thither, and ſo fell into their hands alive.

When the Soldiers heard *Actiolin* was taken, they crowded to behold the Monſter, whom they fancied not to be ſhaped like other men, it being a conſtant tradition among the Common People, that a Devil cloathed with a body, ſupplied his pretended Fathers place when he was begotten; many of them calling to mind, how much he had made them ſuffer in their perſons, in their eſtates, or in their friends, could ſcarce by the Generals Authority be contained from offering him violence: but he being recommended to *Pallavicino*'s care he was convey'd firſt to his tent, afterwards to *Soncino*, where giving little ſign of ſorrow for the rivers of innocent blood he had ſpilt, and obſtinately refuſing to have his wounds ſearched,

ſearched, or to eat or drink enough to keep him alive, he thus helped to diſpatch himſelf; nor could his greateſt enemies have wiſhed him to fall by a more polluted hand.

The joy for *Actiolin*'s death was ſoon allay'd by the actions of *Albericus* his Brother in whom he ſeemed ſtill to live. His cruelties at *Treviſo*, and other parts of the *Mark* called for a new Croiſado, of which the Marqueſs was again declared General: *Albericus* had ſtrongly fortified the Caſtle of St *Zeno*, and provided it with all neceſſaries, reſolving to make it his laſt refuge, and thither he now retired with his Treaſure, his Family, and a few of his moſt truſty Friends, who helped him to keep it out ſo long beyond expectation, that the beſiegers engaged, that all in the place ſhould be ſet at liberty, except *Albericus* and his Family, who were to be given up, which being accordingly done, the vengeance of ſuch as he had injured, he was brought with his Wife, his ſix Sons, and his two Daughters into the middle of the Camp, where, firſt, the Sons, in his

and

and their Mothers preſence had their legs and arms cut off and thrown at their Parents, their bodies were hewed in pieces and carried as relicks to the poor diſconſolate Widows whom *Albericus* had deprived of their Husbands much after the ſame manner before he left *Treviſo*. His Wife and his two Daughters, whoſe innocence and beauty deſerved a better fate, were faſten'd to ſtakes and burnt alive; and *Albericus* in the laſt place being tyed to a Horſe tayle, was dragged about the Camp, and all that would, had leave with hot pincers to tear out his fleſh, and what remained of his Carcaſs became a prey to the Wolves of the next wood. After this dreadfull manner was the Family of *Onara* extirpated, which had for ſeveral Ages aimed at an Abſolute Dominion over that part of *Italy*: but the inſupportable tyranny of the two *Actiolin's* and *Albericus* drew the wrath of Heaven and Earth upon them, and has made their memory odious to all poſterity.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

A continuation of the differences betwixt the Guelphs and *Gibellins untill the death of* Rinaldus *the ſecond.*

THe loſs of *Actiolin* to the *Gibellins* was repaired in *Maſtinus Scaliger*, who coming to be Created Podeſtá of *Verona*, declared himſelf head of that Party; Moſt of the *Italian* Writers make *Maſtinus* of a very mean extraction, raiſed to great riches under *Actiolin*, and now to the chief truſt in the City, which was ſo managed by him, that he and his Offſpring continued Abſolute Princes there for above a hundred years, till their Ambition and Inſolence provoked their Neighbours to arm to their ruine. The firſt thing *Maſtinus* undertook was to chaſe away Count *Boniface* and the *Guelphs*; but they going to *Ferrara* made known the danger their Party was in from ſuch a growing enemy, and *Actiolin's* creature, and eaſily engaged the Marqueſs

queſs to aſſiſt them, but *Maſtinus* upon their approach, not thinking himſelf able yet to deal with him who had ſo lately ruined *Actiolin* and his Family agreed to reſtore the Count, and thoſe he had baniſhed, and kept himſelf afterwards within the terms of moderation, as long as the Marqueſs lived.

The ſupport the *Gibellins* had from *Manfred* made *Urban* the fourth who was a *French-man* offer the Crown of *Naples* to *Charles* Count of *Anjou*, a Brother of *France*, which he accepted the more willingly, becauſe he was much encouraged by the aſſurances that were given him from the Marqueſs and the *Guelphs* of *Lombardy*, but while preparations were making on all hands, the Marqueſs died much lamented by his Party: He had been wonderfully ſucceſsfull in moſt of his attempts, though he had to do with the greateſt men of that Age, and that often times upon very unequall terms; he cannot be much taxed, either with cruelty or breach of promiſe, yet he wanted not his frailties, only the wickedneſs of his Rival *Actiolin*

Ezzolin both helped to cover them, and render his virtues the more conſpicuous. And upon the whole matter it muſt be acknowledged he was engaged in the worſt Party, ſeeing the *Gibellins* Cauſe, how ill ſoever they managed it, was much the juſteſt, they maintained the Emperours undoubted Rights, which the *Guelphs* pretended the Popes Spiritual Arms had cut off.

Azo leaving his Grand-child *Opizo* too young to undertake the Government, the Biſhop of *Ferrara* under a pretence of the danger of the times that required a Prince able to protect them, would have come to a new Choice; but ſuch was the reſpect the City generally had for the Family of *Eſté*, that the Biſhops practices ſerved only to make them the more watchfull in preſerving *Opizo*'s right. In this *Mantoua*, *Padoua*, and the Neighbour places encouraged them, offering their aſſiſtance if required towards *Opizo*'s eſtabliſhment; and the *Turcii* a powerfull Family, who with moſt vigour withſtood the Biſhop, were appointed Guardians during

ring the young Princes minority.

Clement the fourth, no leſs an enemy to *Manfred* than *Urban* his Predeceſſor, ſent to *Charles* of *Anjou* to make haſt if he expected the Crown deſigned him, and finding the moſt decent, the moſt effectual, and withall the cheapeſt way for the Church to make war was by Croiſado's, where a red Croſs, and a plenary indulgence which coſt nothing, made the good men of thoſe dayes fight more deſperately than any pay. The War againſt *Manfred* was declared a Holy and a meritorious Expedition, and none in *Lombardy* promoted it more than *Opizo*, or rather his Guardians:

1266. The iſſue of all was, *Charles* and the worſt Cauſe prevailed, *Manfred* loſing his Crown with his Life under the Walls of *Benevent*.

The *Gibellins* only hope was placed in *Conrardin*, *Manfreds* Nephew, and the Grand-child of *Frederick* the ſecond, whoſe journey into *Italy* *Maſtinus Scaliger*, Prince now of *Verona*, did as earneſtly ſollicite as the Marqueſs did formerly that of *Charles*. *Conrardin* came and paſt moſt of the winter

winter with *Scaliger* conſulting about the method of carrying on the war while *Opizo*'s Guardians, and the *Guelphs*, nothing frighted by the enemies nearneſs, raiſed what Troops they could for *Charles*: Early in the ſpring both Parties appeared in the field, but the fate that purſued *Barbaroſſa*'s Family ſoon overtook *Conrardin*. The *Germans* and *Gibellins* were beat, the poor Prince made priſoner, and in the eighteenth year of his age ſentenced by *Charles*, not without the Popes privacy and direction, to die as a common traytor by the hand of an Executioner for endeavouring to recover what of right did belong to him.

The Guardians reſigning the Government to *Opizo* now of age, he by his ſtrict Union with *Charles* covered himſelf from all the ſtorms *Maſtinus Scaliger*, and the *Gibellins* raiſed. It is true, the extinction of *Barbaroſſa*'s Family in *Conrardin* had brought them ſo low, that for ſome time they durſt ſcarce own the name or the quarrel, however they wanted not wayes to continue the divi-

ſion, and *Maſtinus* kept them in hopes of great things under a new Emperour; but when application was made to *Rodolphus* Count of *Hapsburgh*, the firſt of the Houſe of *Auſtria* that had the Imperial Crown, no arguments could work upon him to come into *Italy*, or to intrigue himſelf at all in the concerns of that Nation ſo fatal to his Predeceſſors, whom, he ſaid, he could trace going thither, but could meet with no foot-ſteps of their return: from him as *Sigonius*, and the beſt Writers obſerve, *Italy* may date its liberty, ſeeing any City could purchaſe of *Rodolphus* what Government it pleaſed; though if we look narrowly into this thing, it proved rather a changing Maſters than any true liberty, and in many places a loſing the protection of an Emperour to be under the laſh of ſome petty Tyrant, it made way for the greatneſs of the Church, eſtabliſhed the *French*, and in general, it fared worſe with *Italy* afterwards, though in ſome places they fell into gentle hands, as happily *Modena* and *Regio* did when joyned with *Ferrara* under the ſame Prince. The

The Church was ſoon ſenſible how little it had got by exchanging *Germans* for *French*, who ſeeing themſelves once fixt in *Italy*, could not be ſatisfied, unleſs they had the ſpiritual power likewiſe; and according to the vanity natural to moſt people in proſperity, but in a peculiar manner to the *French*, they talked of nothing but a *French* Pope, a *French* Conſiſtory, and to have all new modelled in their way. This made *Nicolaus* the third a proud *Italian* of the Houſe of *Urſini* who hated and contemned all *Tramontani*, and particularly the *French*, vigorouſly beſtir himſelf againſt *Charles*, and the firſt that found the ill effects of his diſpleaſure was *Opizo*, againſt whom he armed *Albertus Scaliger*, and the *Gibellins*, that 1276.
by this means he might weaken the Kings Party in *Lombardy*, which *Opizo* kept up. We have not the particulars of the War betwixt *Scaliger* and the Marqueſs, only it is to be ſuppoſed it went not ill with *Opizo*, becauſe the Articles of the Peace afterwards concluded are moſt favourable to him.

After the Peace was made up betwixt *Opizo* and *Scaliger*, the Popes Arts, and the insolence of the *French* drew suddain ruine upon them in *Sicily*; for *Peter* King of *Arragon* married to *Manfreds* Daughter, coming thither with his Navy, the *Sicilians*, as it was before agreed on, at the hour of *Vespers* fell upon the *French* in all parts of the Kingdom, and without compassion or respect, massacred Men, Women and Children, and presently *Peter* with his *Spaniards* landing, took possession of the Kingdom.

The Popes hatred against *Charles*, and *Peter's* success did not a little help to set up the *Gibellins* again, who began in several places to return upon the *Guelphs* the ill usage they had
1286. lately met with: But *Opizo* bore no share in those disturbances, having made a Peace to his mind, and married the Prince of *Verona's* Daughter, and now he was so far from taking pleasure in heading a Faction, that for the future he resolv'd to put on the person of an Umpire, and to use his Authority in composing differences

rences among his Neighbours. For his honour he was the firſt man that thought of employing himſelf this way, becauſe the animoſities they had been bred up to from their Infancy, had ſo heated and ſour'd their tempers, that their whole ſtudy was how to ruine one another, looking upon this as the only method to ſecure themſelves. Yet *Opizo* ſhewed the world, that as he could put off thoſe Principles his Grand-father had infuſed in him, ſo by his means others could be brought to righter apprehenſions of things, and differences be made up betwixt Families which were judged abſolutely irreconcileable.

An inſtance of this he gave at *Milan*, where he brought ſeveral Families which had long lived in open defiance to an entire friendſhip; and ſcarce was he got back to *Ferrara*, when Ambaſſadors from *Modena* and *Regio*, came to declare him their Prince: The Emperour likewiſe approving of this choice, confirmed to *Opizo*, and his Succeſſors, the perpetual Principality of thoſe Cities, which continue to this day in their Allegi-

ance to the Houſe of *Eſté*, and have in theſe latter Times given ſignal marks of their fidelity to their Princes, beyond moſt people of *Lombardy*.

So great were the diſtractions of *Modena*, and *Regio*, when they choſe *Opizo* for their Prince, that it was thought ſtrange they could ever be brought to agree in any thing; yet the Opinion both parties had of his worth and juſtice, made them not only unanimous in chuſing him, but likewiſe in ſubmitting all their differences to his determination, and his Prudence and Authority ſoon put an end to them: This was the laſt remarkable paſſage of *Opizo*'s life, for at his return to *Ferrara* he died. He was a prudent and a fortunate Prince, had in his youth ſhewed both reſolution and conduct in ſeveral enterprizes; but the latter part of his life was ſtill the moſt glorious, and he got alſo more in a few years by promoting the peace of *Italy*, than his Grand-father had done all his time by fomenting their unnatural diviſions.

He left three Sons, the eldeſt was

Azo

Azo the ninth, whom the *French* in *Naples* highly careſſed, knowing his friendſhip to be neceſſary for the ſupport of their intereſt in *Lombardy:* But the *Padouans* were like to have given him much trouble by ſetting up his younger Brother *Aldobrandin*, had not the Patriarch of *Aquileia* adjuſted the matter before it broke out into an open war. The City of *Parma* had more reſpect for *Azo*, and reſolved to follow the example of *Modena* and *Regio*; but *Bologna* did ſo deal with the *Gibellins*, that they could not be brought to conſent to it. This ill office the Marqueſs did much reſent, and thereupon began a war with *Bologna*, which laſted a long time, and was proſecuted by him with ſuch heat, that *Bologna* ſenſible of the danger, ſent to the *Pope* and the *Florentins*, to intercede with the Marqueſs for a peace. The Families of *Viſconti* and *Torriani* had long divided *Milan*, either of them affecting the Soveraignty by the ruine of the other; at laſt by the favour of the Emperour *Henry* the ſeventh, who began again to meddle with the 1297.

affairs of *Italy*, neglected by his predeceſſors for almoſt ſixty years, *Viſconti* not only prevailed but grew on a ſudden ſo powerfull, that he was like to ſwallow up all near him; the Cities of *Pavia*, *Vergelli*, *Novara*, *Cremona*, *Crema* and *Bergamo*, apprehending themſelves moſt in danger, did with the Marqueſs of *Ferrara*, *Montferrat*, and *Saluzzo*, enter into a confederacy to pull *Viſconti* down; and *Azo* being declared their General, did ſo ſucceſsfully manage the war, that *Viſconti* was ſoon humbled, and might have been brought low enough, had the League continued. After the concluſion of the Peace, *Beatrix*, *Azo*'s Siſter was contracted to *Galliazo*, *Viſconti*'s Son, and the marriage ſolemnized at *Milan* with ſuch magnificence as *Italy* had not ſeen of late years.

Viſconti being a little depreſſed, *Azo* was abſolutely the greateſt Prince of *Lombardy*; for beſides *Ferrara*, *Modena*, *Regio*, *Rovigo*, *Commachio*, with ſeveral other places of leſs note, all his own, *Bergamo*, *Cremona*, *Crema*, and *Pavia* lived under his protection,

tection, and were ready at a call: This made *Charles* the ſecond, King of *Naples*, willingly hearken to a match betwixt the Marqueſs and his youngeſt Daughter, having married her three elder Siſters to two Kings, and the firſt Prince of the blood in *France:* Such an Alliance we muſt allow was highly for the honour of the Houſe of *Eſté*, but proved unhappy in its conſequences; for the Neighbours grew jealous of *Azo*, as they had formerly been of *Viſconti*, and it was given out that the King of *Naples* and he deſigned to Conquer, and then to divide *Italy* betwixt them; that *Azo* was to have all upon this ſide, and the King all beyond the *Appenin*. *Scaliger* therefore of *Verona*, with thoſe of *Mantoua*, *Parma* and *Bologna*, by the Popes means declare war againſt the Marqueſs, and *Regio* narrowly eſcaped being taken by thoſe of *Parma*, as *Modena*, likewiſe by thoſe of *Bologna*, and both places after ſome time fell into their hands by the treachery of a few diſaffected Inhabitants, who by night opened the Gates for the Enemy to enter at. The

The loſs of two Cities gave not ſo much diſcouragement to *Azo*, as the
1308. revolt of his Brother, with others of his Subjects, which made him doubtfull whom to truſt; but the ſeaſonable arrival of his Father in Laws troops from *Naples*, and of ſome from the *Swiſſes*, together with ſeven hundred *Catalonian* Horſe did remove his fears, and put his affairs in ſo good a poſture, that it is believed, it would have gone hard with his Enemies, if he had lived to finiſh that Campagne.

No wonder if *Francis* who durſt rebel againſt his Brother, did diſpute the Title with his Son *Friſcus* after his death; but it ſeems there was a Will either found or feigned, in which *Azo* had declared him his Succeſſor; by this and the Legate of *Bologna*'s help, he raiſed a tumult againſt *Friſcus*, got poſſeſſion of the City of *Ferrara*, and was by the Magiſtrates and People ſaluted Marqueſs. The Caſtle whither *Friſcus* retired had a *Venetian* Garriſon, and made a ſtout reſiſtance, till *Friſcus* ſeeing things deſperate, ſtole away by night to *Venice* where he died, and left the Garriſon

to

to the mercy of the Legate, who cauſed the eyes of all the *Venetians* to be pulled out: *Francis* likewiſe had little reaſon to brag of his Conqueſt, for the Legate aſſuming the whole Authority, ſent him to reſide at *Rovigo*, where by his order he was ſoon after murdered.

The Pope, firſt by countenancing, and then by murdering this ambitious Prince got *Ferrara* to himſelf; but ſuch wicked practices did ſo alienate the hearts of the People, that to preſerve it from the Emperour he was adviſed to conſign it into *Robert* King of *Naples* hands: *Robert*, though Brother to *Beatrix Azo*'s Wife, kept it more by the ſtrength of the Garriſon than the affections of the Inhabitants who retained an inward reverence and paſſion for the injured Princes of *Eſté*, and waited but for an occaſion to expreſs it. One day it happened that the Governour in his anger gave a blow to a Gentleman of *Ferrara*, of which he died; whereupon in an inſtant all were in Arms, and he with the Garriſon, with much ado got to the Caſtle, which

was

was ill provided to hold out long: The news came immediately to *Rovigo*, where *Azo* the Son of *Francis* and his Couſin German *Rinaldus*, *Aldobrandin's* Son then lived, who while they were reſolving with their friends what courſe to take, a ſolemn invitation from the City of *Ferrara*, removed the fears of their not being welcome, and determined them in their reſolutions, ſo that they began their journey thither next morning: Upon advice of their approach, all, beſides thoſe who were actually employed in the ſiege of the Caſtle went out to meet them, accompanying them firſt to the Church, then to the Palace, without the leaſt diſturbance; the Garriſon in a day or two came to capitulate, and were diſmiſt with their Governour; and the City in a gratefull remembrance of ſo unexpected a delivery, kept every fifth of
1317. *Auguſt* a day of Thankſgiving, ſo long as there was a Marqueſs or Duke of *Ferrara*.

The joy for the Princes Reſtauration was doubly allay'd; firſt, by the death of *Azo*, to whom *Rinaldus Aldobrandin's*

dobrandin's Son ſucceeded, then by the Popes procedure which could not have been more violent if *Rinaldus* had been acceſſary to his Uncles death, whom the Legate murdered, or had been guilty of Uſurpation in accepting his own, he was preſently excommunicated, and his Subjects commanded in thirty dayes, under the like pain, to caſt off *Rinaldus* and his Miniſters, and receive the Popes: But neither in Prince nor People did the Pope meet with that compliance he expected, for *Rinaldus* could not be ſo eaſily frighted from what he was ſure he had ſo good a right to, and the Citizens inſtead of rejecting him, did by an humble Addreſs entreat him, that he would not abandon nor give them up who had been ſo faithfull to his Anceſtors, and ſo ready to ſhake off the Churches yoke to return to their Allegiance, aſſuring him, that no threats nor allurements ſhould ever debauch them from their Duty to their Natural Prince. Immediately Ambaſſadors were diſpatched to their Neighbours, with an account of the Popes dealings, and

and the reſolutions of *Rinaldus*, and *Galleazo* of *Milan*, *Canis Scaliger* of *Verona*, with the great *Caſtrucius* of *Luca*, and the baniſhed *Florentins* enter into a League for the defence of the Marqueſs of *Ferrara*, in caſe the Pope ſhould proceed any further in his unjuſt pretences. But after many attempts for ſeveral years to little purpoſe the Pope took off the ſentence which he had ſo raſhly and unjuſtly pronounced againſt *Rinaldus*, and confirmed whatever was
1327. done at *Ferrara* during the interdict.

A ſhort time diſcovered the Popes Peace with the Marqueſs of *Ferrara*, and his Brothers was intended only to diſarm them, that ſo he might the better fall upon the City: In order to it the Legate of *Bologna* made great preparations, and notice being given to the adjacent places of *Romagna*, to be in readineſs, the whole buſineſs was carried on ſo cloſely, that the Legate inveſted *Ferrara* with an Army of thirty thouſand men before the Marqueſs ſuſpected his deſign: Every Gentleman of *Ferrara* ſhewed

as

as much concern as the Marqueſs could to diſappoint the Pope, who had ſo treacherouſly ſurprized them: and the place, though ill provided, held out by this means beyond expectation, till the thing being blaz'd abroad, *Viſconti* from *Milan*, *Gonzaga* from *Mantoua*, *Scaliger* from *Verona*, without exception of *Guelphs* or *Gibellins* in this common danger ſent Forces to relieve it. The Marqueſs having private information of their approach, went out by night, leaving the place to his Brother *Opizo*, with Order to make a Salley at ſuch a time as he with the Confederates ſhould advance towards the Enemies Camp; which being accordingly performed, the Popes Army was unexpectedly beſet upon all hands, and received ſuch a total overthrow, that very few eſcaped being killed or taken priſoners.

The Marqueſs upon his return, according to the cuſtom of that age, after any ſignal military performance, was ſolemnly Knighted with his Brothers by *Tauriſanus*, the moſt reputed Captain of the City: This ſort of

of Knighthood they judged so honourable, that the greatest Princes were willing to receive it from the hands of their own Subjects; an instance of this we meet with in *Francis* the first, who thought it worth the while to send for the compleat *Chevalier de Bayon*, one of his Generals in *Italy* to be Knighted by him, as if he looked upon this to make him somewhat more a Gentleman than the Crown of *France* did.

Not long after died *Rinaldus*, and *Modena* which he had besieged many months, fell into his Brother *Opizo's* hands: To grace his first entry upon the Government, this City having deprived it self for above thirty years of the protection of the House of *Esté*, tost from one Master to another, could never find rest till it took sanctuary there again.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

A brief account of what paſt in Lombardy *from* Opizo's *advancement till that of* Borſius *the firſt Duke of* Ferrara, *and of the Council held at* Ferrara, *to unite the* Greek *and* Latine *Churches under* Eugenius *the fourth; with ſeveral other memorable tranſactions.*

NOthing is more entertaining than the Hiſtory of the ebbings and flowings of the Ruling Families of *Lombardy* in thoſe dayes; when any one of them grew too Great the reſt combined to level it. Thus it had lately fared with the Families of *Eſté* and *Viſconti*, as I obſerved; and now *Scaliger* was to have his turn, being the only object of their jealouſie: for beſides *Verona* he had ten more Cities under him, kept five thouſand *Germans* conſtantly in pay, affected the Title of King of *Lombardy*, and was grown intolerably inſolent. The firſt that began with him were the two Republicks of *Ve-*

nice and *Florence*; afterwards *Viſconti*, the Marqueſs of *Ferrara*, and *Gonzaga* agreed to enter into the League, both that they might be ſharers in the Conqueſt, and thereby keep the Republicks from enriching themſelves too much, and likewiſe when they thought fit might ſtop the current before *Scaliger* were utterly ruined. In a ſhort time *Scaliger* loſt ſeven of his Cities, which were divided among the Conquerours. But the *Florentins*, for all their ſubtilty, and contempt of the *Lombards* were outwitted by the *Venetians* and *Viſconti*, and had ſcarce enough allowed them to defray the charges of the War: the Hoſtages for performance of the Articles of the Peace were conſigned by all Parties into the hands of the Marqueſs, who towards the latter end behaved himſelf more like a Mediator than an Enemy to *Scaliger*.

Azo of *Correggio* not being able to keep *Parma* ſold it to *Opizo*, and the City it ſelf, willingly came under a Prince of *Eſté*, having found it ſelf ſo happy when Governed by that Family four hundred years before; the people

people at *Opizo*'s arrival to expreſs their affection to their new Maſter, ſtrengthened his Title, by chuſing him anew : but after ſome time the Marqueſs perceiving how *Viſconti* and *Gonzaga* both lay in wait for it, how uneaſie a thing it would be for him to keep it, there being no Communication betwixt this and his other Cities, and how at beſt he muſt reſolve to entail a War upon his Poſterity with theſe Princes, was perſwaded to part with it upon the ſame terms that he bought it. 1347.

Opizo paſt the reſt of his time in great tranquillity, and having outlived all his Brothers, left at his death ſeven Sons very young; this encouraged his Nephew *Francis* that was ſupported by *Viſconti*, whoſe Niece he had married, to make an attempt upon *Ferrara*; but *Aldobrandin* the ſecond, though he was not then above ſeventeen years of age, and had none of his Family fit to adviſe him, yet behaved himſelf ſo well, and found the Nobility ſo faithfull, that *Francis* ſeeing no likelihood of compaſſing what he deſigned retired to

Milan, and never afterwards offered to give him the leaſt diſturbance.

The Wars betwixt the Republicks of *Venice* and *Genoua* engaged moſt of the Princes of *Lombardy* in their quarrel, *Viſconti* declared for *Genoua*, and contributed largely towards the charge; *Aldobrandin*, *Scaliger* and *Carrara* of *Padoua* were for the *Venetians*. *Viſconti* not knowing well how to come at the *Venetians*, reſolved to ſet upon their Confederates, and by the help of *Bologna* laid ſiege to *Modena*, which was looked upon as the eaſieſt enterprize; but young
1356. *Aldobrandin* with thirty thouſand men entering into *Viſconti's* Territories call'd him home to defend his own Countrey before he could take the City. His grief for being thus treated by ſo young a Captain haſtened his death; and ſoon after him died *Aldobrandin*, the moſt hopefull Prince of *Italy*, being but in the flower of his age.

When *Nicolaus Aldobrandin's* younger Brother found *Barnabas Viſconti* like to be as troubleſome as his Father, he offered to the Legate of *Bologna*,

logna, to *Gonzaga* & to *Scaliger*, whoſe Daughter he married to concur in keeping a ſtanding Army as the beſt expedient to bridle his ambition, by which *Barnabas* was ſo highly provoked, that the firſt thing he undertook was to invade the Marqueſſes Countrey: *Nicolaus* having ſecret advice of his deſign, made himſelf ready, and gave *Barnabas* ſuch a brisk reception, that many of his men being killed, and ſeveral of the Nobility of *Milan* taken priſoners, he with the reſt made a ſhamefull retreat. *Barnabas* then ſeemed willing to hearken to a Peace, offering to refer all their differences to the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, nor could he have wiſhed for a more favourable Umpire than him whoſe Grandfather had firſt ſet up the *Viſconti* at *Milan*, who had himſelf made his Father *Viſconti* Vicar of *Italy*, and who had lately expreſſed great kindneſs for himſelf; yet upon ſecond thoughts, *Barnabas* concluded it not ſo well for him to make Peace with *Nicolaus*, till his loſt honour were in ſome meaſure repaired, which made

him prepare another Army againſt the Marqueſs; but the Emperour taking it ill to have the buſineſs firſt referred to him, and then to have *Barnabas* think of revenging himſelf, deprived him of the Title of Vicar,
1365. and of all other Imperial Priviledges, forbidding any of the Vaſſals of the Empire to aſſiſt or countenance him. *Barnabas* to wave this ſtorm accepted of what terms were propoſed him.

This Peace it was hoped might have laſted a long time, but *Barnabas* ſtill in his heart hated *Nicolaus* as the occaſion of the Emperours being diſpleaſed with him; and *Nicolaus* could never be well reconciled to *Barnabas*, while he kept *Regio*, which of right belonged to him: ſo that no wonder if both parties watched only for an opportunity of falling out. After many and great diſputes
1374. too tedious to be ſet down, *Nicolaus* recovered *Regio* that had long been out of the Family, and then was he contented to ſtand upon his own defence: The moſt he did was to ballance all Parties when either of them grew

grew too ſtrong; but he chiefly employed himſelf in deciding their differences, by which he got a great Name, and never wanted buſineſs, the *Venetians* and *Carrara* of *Padoua*, the Cities of *Bologna* and *Florence*, with ſeveral others freely ſubmitted themſelves to his arbitration.

When *Nicolaus* had ſpent many years in this deſirable ſtation, *Galleazo Viſconti* fell upon the *Scaligers*, chaſed away the Father, killed the Son, and took *Verona*. It troubled *Nicolaus* to ſee the Family out of which he had married a Wife, ruined in an inſtant, and to ſee *Viſconti*, for whom of all other he had the leaſt kindneſs, ſo great a gainer by it; he ſolicited hotly the Princes and Free Cities of *Lombardy* to take Arms againſt *Galleazo*, and brought them almoſt to a reſolution; but his ſudden death, and the fate of the Houſe of *Scaliger* made all endeavours to ſave it ineffectual. 1387.

Nicolaus left but one Son, who entering into a Religious Order, reſigned all to his Couſin *Albertus*; *Galleazo* was now too great for *Albertus* to

oppoſe, wch made him ſide with *Galleazo*, that ſo if he got nothing by the ruine of *Scaliger*, he might at leaſt ſave himſelf, that was moſt likely to ſuffer next. This League they termed everlaſting, though as the motives upon which it was made, ſeemed to promiſe no ſuch thing; ſo neither did it prove ſuch in the iſſue: for as ſoon as *Galleazo* was engaged in a War with *Florence*, his new Subjects of *Verona* and *Padoua* revolted, and threatened to fall upon the Marqueſs, unleſs he would joyn with them. *Albertus* being afterwards at leiſure founded the Univerſity of *Ferrara*, whither his bounty drew ſome of the chief Profeſſors in all Arts and Sciences, amongſt others *Salicetus* that moſt famed Civilian; but when he thought to have dedicated the reſt of his time, and no ſmall part of his Revenue to the Muſes, his ſudden death deprived the Learned of the beſt Patron of that age.

By his Will he recommended his Son *Nicolaus*, being yet a Child, to the tuition and care of the chief Families of *Ferrara*, ordering, that by turns

turns they ſhould have the adminiſtration of Affairs till he came of age, that ſo all having ſome ſhare in the Government, they might the more heartily eſpouſe their young Princes intereſt. Moſt thought it a thing not practicable for ſo many perſons, ſometimes to ſit at the Helm, and then to return to their private ſtations, and to own the Superiority of thoſe whom they had lately commanded: But for ſeveral years this courſe did wonderfully ſucceed, none while in Authority, ſhewing any other ambition than that of diſcharging their truſt faithfully; and in compliance to the Orders left by *Albertus*, giving up their Commiſſions at the time limited, with the ſame chearfulneſs that at firſt they received them. During the Princes minority, *Azo* the Son of *Francis*, and a Grand-child of the Family of *Viſconti*, did by open force, as well as by poiſon, and other wicked practices, attempt the death of *Nicolaus*, till happily he was taken and kept priſoner, notwithſtanding the endeavours uſed by thoſe of *Milan* for his enlarge-

1396. enlargement. The obligation of being alwayes in Arms upon *Azo*'s account, put the Government to ſo great charge, that a conſiderable ſumm was borrowed of the *Venetians*, and *Rovigo* given them in pledge for it. By this Republicks means a match was concluded betwixt *Nicolaus* and the Daughter of *Francis Carrara*, who now next to *Viſconti* was the moſt powerfull Prince of thoſe parts, he being then abſolute Maſter of *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Bellimo*, *Feltry* and *Padoua*, moſt of which came to his Family, firſt by the depreſſion, and afterwards by the ruine of the *Scaligers*.

The Plague about this time breaking out in *Ferrara*, many of the Nobility retired to their Countrey-houſes; *Carrara* who had no liking to the Government ſetled there by *Albertus* coming thither with a Train, that might rather have paſt for an Army; he turned out the Nobility, and put the Prince and the City into the hands of his Subjects and Favourites. *Nicolaus* fell ill ſoon after, and if he had died, no doubt *Carra-*

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ra had kept that City; but upon his recovery, being jealous of his Father in Law's ill intentions, he diſmiſt the *Padouans*, and made uſe of thoſe who had formerly ſerved him.

The deſigns of *John Galleazo*, lately Created Duke of *Milan* by *Wenſiſlaus* the Emperour, tended plainly to the ſubverſion of *Lombardy*; *Bologna* by the ſlaughter of the *Bentivoglio*'s was fallen to him; he had likewiſe *Perugia* and ſeveral other places upon that hand; and if he had lived a few months longer, *Florence* could not have ſaved it ſelf. His death encouraged the Pope and others to enter into a War with his Son, a Legate being ſent to *Ferrara* to declare *Nicolaus* General of the Church; but the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Milan* afraid of what might follow upon ſuch a Combination, made earneſt ſute for Peace, which ſhe bought with the loſs of *Bologna*, *Perugia* and *Aſizi*.

The friendſhip betwixt the *Venetians* and *Carrara* ending in a bloody War, both Parties courted *Nicolaus*, who at firſt was perſwaded to declare for his Father in Law; but foreſeeing

ing his ill management of Affairs, and his obſtinacy in refuſing to yield up a little to ſecure the reſt, muſt at length ruine him, he made Peace with the *Venetians*, and *Carrara* having loſt *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Feltry* and *Bellimo*, and being beſieged at *Padoua*, was betrayed and delivered into the hands of his Enemies, who carrying him priſoner to *Venice*, with his two Sons, put him there to death: His Off-ſpring are yet at *Padoua*, and of late have been glad to be admitted among the Gentlemen of that
1406. Republick, which put their Anceſtors out of the Rank of Princes, in which they had lived almoſt ninety years. It was the fall of *Carrara* which made the *Venetians* firſt conſiderable upon the *Terra firma*.

Regio was now in the hands of *Ottobon* of *Parma*, who reſolved never to be at Peace with the Houſe of *Eſté*, till he had likewiſe *Modena*; but *Nicolaus* joyning with the Duke of *Milan*, and other Princes, procured *Ottobon* to be declared a diſturber of the Peace of *Lombardy*, and his Countrey to be expoſed to all

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that bore him any malice. For an Inſurrection at *Parma*, *Ottobon* hanged ſixty five of the Chief Citizens; and dangers threatning him both at home and from abroad, he ſeemed willing to give ſatisfaction to *Nicolaus* whom he had moſt injured, and appointed a Conference with him, hoping by this means to have an opportunity to kill *Nicolaus* : Advice being brought to *Nicolaus* of *Ottobon*'s deſign, he came to the place well guarded, and leaving his men at ſome diſtance, as *Ottobon* alſo did his, both with a few truſty friends came together to diſcourſe the buſineſs: *Franciſcus Forza* afterwards Duke of *Milan*, being there with *Nicolaus*, and obſerving ſome of *Ottobons* followers caſt themſelves into a certain figure, which they were to do before they fell on, prevented them, by laying hold upon *Ottobon*, and ſeconded by others, killed him out-right; all his party deſerting him beſides his Brother and one other Officer. Since *Actiolins* time there had not been a more cruel Tyrant than *Ottobon*, yet they adviſed *Nicolaus* to ſatisfie the world

world by a publick Declaration, that what he did was in his own defence; nothing but this being able to vindicate the killing any man after such a manner.

While the Marquess lay before *Regio*, an Ambassadour from *Venice* arrived in the Camp to give him notice that the rest of *Ottobons* Family being fled thither, as to the sanctuary of the oppressed, they sent to offer their mediation, expecting he would proceed no further. *Nicolaus* thought it a little hard to be required, not to meddle with what belonged to his Family; yet not being willing to come to a rupture suddenly with *Venice*, he endeavoured to gain time in returning a smooth and ambiguous answer, and in a few dayes had both *Regio* and *Parma* delivered him. When the *Venetians* understood this, they wisely declined medling any further in so desperate a business, withdrawing their protection from *Ottobon's* friends, and owning the Marquess for their Confederate; this *Nicolaus* took so kindly, that he never ceased, till by his mediation the Peace

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was made up betwixt the Emperour *Sigiſmund* and the Republick, and the Articles ſigned at *Ferrara*. 1416.

The Emperour was troubled to ſee the Church rent by ſo many Popes at one time, and thereupon aſſembled the Council of *Conſtance*, where *Benedict* the thirteenth, *Gregory* the twelfth, and *John* the twenty fourth were depoſed; and *Martin* the fifth choſen, and the new Pope in his return from *Germany* to *Rome* paſſing by *Ferrara*, was with all his train ſumptuouſly treated by the Marqueſs, whom in the name of the Princes of *Italy* he thanked for the Peace concluded by his means, betwixt the Emperour and the *Venetians*, and for his conſtant forwardneſs in promoting the publick good: *Parma* growing troubleſome to him, he ſold it to the Duke of *Milan*, who at the ſame time renounced all his pretenſions to *Regio*. It was thought that *Lombardy* was then ſufficiently purged from all ſeeds of diſcord; when *Philip* Duke of *Milan*'s ſeizing upon *Genoua*, and threatning *Florence*, gave a freſh alarm, the *Venetians* offered the *Florentins*

rentins their aſſiſtance; but *Nicolaus* though jealous of the Dukes greatneſs could not be engaged till they declared him General, and by their Ambaſſador ſent him St *Mark's* Banner, with an unlimited Commiſſion: after ſeveral battles, the Duke having already loſt *Breſcia*, and being in a fair way to loſe more, *Nicolaus* at
1427. the Popes requeſt propoſed a Peace, which all parties by their Ambaſſadors agreed to at *Ferrara*. The Duke of *Milan* not being able to bear the loſs of *Breſcia*, without ever diſmiſſing his Army, fell more hotly upon the *Venetians* than before, yet with no better ſucceſs, for after much treaſure ſpent to no purpoſe; inſtead of having the firſt Peace confirmed with the loſs only of *Breſcia*, by this he was obliged to give up alſo *Bergamo*.

Who could have imagined, that after having thus ſmarted, the Duke ſhould have come to another breach; but the natural inconſtancy of that Prince, the ill grounded opinion he had of his own ſufficiency, and the flatteries of thoſe about him, who when-

when ever he miſcarried, pretended he was betrayed, never ſuffered him to live at eaſe; the *Venetians* on the other hand, underſtanding perfectly with whom they had to deal, ſeem'd to be afraid of his Power, that ſo they might haſten a rupture, being ſure alwayes to gain ſomewhat by falling out with the Duke of *Milan:* 1436
How hard a task then had the Marqueſs to keep the ballance even, betwixt two ſo unequal parties, which yet he did all his time? This made his Friendſhip to be valued both by the Pope and the Emperour *Sigiſmond*, who honoured him with a Viſit in his return from *Rome*, was treated at a rate ſuitable to his greatneſs, and at his departure, he confirmed by a new Grant to the Marqueſs and his Poſterity, his Title to *Modena*, *Regio*, and the other places, which he held of the Empire.

From the deſign then a foot to Unite the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches, I muſt beg leave of my Reader to give a ſhort account in the firſt place of their differences, which were both about ſome ſpeculative points; as

that of the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, and alſo about Rituals, as the Conſecrating leavened or unleavened Bread; but that which chiefly made the breach ſo wide, was the Conteſt about Supremacy. The Popes pretenſions to Univerſal Juriſdiction over all Chriſtian Churches, are too well known to be much enlarged on. Upon the other hand, the *Greeks* only allowed them to be Patriarchs of the Weſt, and ſaid that the riſe of their Dignity was not from the pretended Succeſſion to St *Peter*, but from *Romes* being then the Metropolis of the *Roman* Empire, which clearly appeared by what followed upon the tranſlation of the Imperial Seat to *Byzantium*; the Biſhop of that See, being declared in two of the firſt four General Councils Equal in all things to the Biſhops of *Rome*, excepting only Precedency; becauſe *Conſtantinople* was *New Rome*, expreſſing by this what Opinion they had of the Rights old *Rome* then enjoyed, ſeeing they did not aſcribe them to a Divine Original, but to the Dignity of the City. Upon

on this great diſputes aroſe betwixt the Biſhops of thoſe Sees, while the one would not acknowledge a Superiour, nor the other an Equal; the Popes endeavoured to engage in their behalf the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and of *Antioch*, as ancienter than thoſe of *Conſtantinople*, to whom they were not to yield the precedency. From the dayes of the moſt learned *Photius* theſe unhappy differences ſetled in a formed Schiſm, and gave no ſmall advantage to the *Saracens* and *Turks* over the Eaſtern Chriſtians, in whoſe ruine the Popes ſeemed but little concerned.

An Union betwixt the Churches had been long deſired, and *Eugenius* the fourth, *Martin*'s Succeſſor finding in this a plauſible pretence to ruine the Council of *Baſil* then aſſembled, called another at *Ferrara*, where he knew he had a friend in *Nicolaus*, and invited the *Greeks* with large promiſes thither. Nor could the Pope have wiſhed for a more favourable conjuncture, ſeeing the danger of the two Eaſtern Empires of *Conſtantinople* and *Trapezond*, that

were ready to be ſwallowed up by the *Turk*, made them, in hopes of aſſiſtance from *Italy*, willing to come to any accommodation. The Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, *John Palæologus*, to promote the buſineſs, reſolved to be there in perſon; and *Nicolaus* upon his arrival at *Venice*, went thither to welcom him, had him lodged in the Pallace of *Eſté*, and then returned to *Ferrara* to make ready for his reception. The Emperour being accompanied by his Brother *Demetrius*, Deſpot of the *Morea*, the Ambaſſador of *Trapezond*, and the moſt conſiderable Biſhops of *Greece*, in all ſeven hundred, were met by *Nicolaus*, and a Noble Equipage at ſome diſtance from *Ferrara*: The Emperour was conducted directly to the Pope, who to ſhew him, as they pretended, an extraordinary mark of reſpect, would not ſuffer him to kneel, but embraced him in his arms with great expreſſions of kindneſs; afterwards *Nicolaus* brought the Emperour to an apartment richly furniſhed for him in the Palace, called Paradiſe, where he received the Compliments

plements of the Cardinals, and other Chief Prelates.

The Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* who ſtayed at *Venice* till he had an account of the Emperours reception, came to *Ferrara* a few dayes after, but refuſed a publick Audience of the Pope, becauſe he would not obſerve the Formalities required, and all diſputes about Precedency being waved as much as poſſible, they held the firſt Seſſion with great ſolemnity. Here was an occaſion for *Nicolaus* to ſhew his hoſpitality, and the ſplendour of his Court; and to do him juſtice, though but a private Prince, he came much nearer the Magnificence of the Great *Conſtantine* in his entertainments, than the Fathers of this Council did thoſe of *Nice* in the purity of their Doctrine, or in the ſanctity of their lives: There was never a *Spiridion*, nor a *Paphnutius* in this Aſſembly, and ſcarce an *Athanaſius*, unleſs in *Marcus* Biſhop of *Epheſus*, who boldly defended his Church againſt the Errours of *Rome*; but on the other hand, there were more than one *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, and

in *Beſſarion* no ill Image of *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea* in his behaviour, but the true reverſe in his change, which unhappily was for the worſe: after fifteen Seſſions the pretended fears of a Plague, and really that of the War betwixt the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan*, who favoured the Council of *Baſil*, made the Pope tranſlate his to *Florence*, where he carried things as he pleaſed. But the ſervile compliance of the *Greeks* meerly upon a proſpect of intereſt did afterwards appear, when being diſappointed of their expectations at their return home moſt of them anathematized what they had ſubſcribed in *Italy*. *Beſſarion* and *Iſidorus* only of all the *Greeks* charmed with the dignity of Cardinals, and foreſeeing the approaching ruine of their Countrey, continued in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*.

The *Venetians* in the beginning of this War with the Duke of *Milan*, gave the Marqueſs back *Rovigo* without requiring the ſumm borrowed upon it; but beſides this, there were other motives to perſwade the Marqueſs

queſs to befriend them, for the Duke by the valour and conduct of his General *Francis Forza*, was like to repair all his former loſſes, and to wreſt the *terra firma* out of the *Venetians* hands. *Nicolaus* knowing well the Dukes temper found wayes to ſow the ſeeds of jealouſie betwixt him and his General, which in a ſhort time brought *Forza* over to the *Venetians*, and with him the Dukes Fortune. The ſiege of *Breſcia* was preſently relieved, *Verona* recovered, and the Dukes New General *Piciminus* beaten. The Duke was ſenſible of his folly in diſobliging *Forza*, and agreed to give him his Daughter in marriage, recommending the management of the buſineſs to *Nicolaus*, who made up the match betwixt *Forza* and the Lady, and the Peace betwixt the Duke her Father and the Republick: This was the laſt remarkable action of *Nicolaus*'s life, for going to viſit the Duke of *Milan* he died there, and in him did *Italy* loſe the wiſeſt Prince it had bred of many ages; he came ſhort both of the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan* in 1446.

power, but by turning the ſcale alwayes towards the party for which he declared, he raiſed himſelf as it were above both, his riches he employed in living ſplendidly, and had entertained two Emperours, and three Popes, beſides many other Princes at his Court; his two Sons by the Marqueſs of *Saluzza*'s Daughter, *Hercules* and *Sigiſmond*, being yet but Children, he left the Government to *Leonel*, to whoſe Mother it was believed he never was married.

Leonels firſt Wife of the Houſe of *Gonzaga* being dead, and he raiſed to a higher ſtation, *Alphonſus* King of *Naples* accepted of him for his Son in Law; and *Leonel* ſent his Brother *Borſius* with the *Venetian* Gallies, to conduct the Princeſs to *Venice*, where the Doge and Senate took occaſion to expreſs their reſpect to King *Alphonſus*, and the Marqueſs in the great ſtate with which they received her. When ſhe entered into the territories of *Ferrara*, the whole Gentry a horſeback, with the Ladies in rich Coaches, made ſuch an appearance, that the Prince of *Callabria* her Brother,

Brother, who came to ſee her ſafe with her Husband ſeemed equally pleaſed and ſurprized with the ſplendour of the Court of *Ferrara:* The Prince in his return home was accompanied by *Hercules* and *Sigiſmond*, recommended by *Leonel* to the King of *Naples*, at whoſe Court, he ſaid, his Father upon his death-bed deſired they ſhould be bred; but many thought it an honourable and ſecure ſort of baniſhment, while they were kept at a Kings Court indeed, yet ſtill under the eye of *Leonel*'s Father in Law.

The Pope, the King of *Naples*, the Duke of *Milan*, the *Venetians* and *Florentins* being all in War, *Leonel* in imitation of his Father, obſerved a perfect Neutrality; and as ſoon as the Parties were diſpoſed for Peace, offered his Mediation which they accepted, and ſent their Plenipotentiaries to *Ferrara:* This, with the many Treaties held there in the time of the former Marqueſs made *Platina* and *Sabellicus* term *Ferrara* the *Houſe of Peace*, or as we find it in ſome Letters, *the Venerable Temple of the*

the Quiet and Liberty of Italy. While *Leonel* and the Plenipotentiaries were at work, the death of *Philip* Duke of *Milan*, in whom the Race of the *Viſconti* failed, put a ſtop to their proceedings; the Duke leaving things in that confuſion, as if he had deſigned to entail upon *Lombardy* the diviſions which he had all his life fomented.

The City of *Milan* weary of ſo Abſolute a Government enclined to form it ſelf into a Republick, ſeveral other places were given up to the Neighbour Princes, *Leonel* out of his kindneſs to *Forza* had given him notice of the Dukes death when it was kept ſecret; and now *Pavia* and other places which ſent to him, deſiring to be received into his protection, he turned over to *Forza*, endeavouring to get for his friend what he had not courage to take for himſelf. It is certain if *Nicolaus* had been alive he had ordered things more for the advantage of the Houſe of *Eſté*; but *Leonel* was not ſo well known, and every one could ſee that his love for Peace, or rather for eaſe, did ill fit him for a New Conqueſt.

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The *Venetians* were of a much different temper, who having ſo fair an invitation to enlarge their Dominions upon the *terra firma*, pretended that the Duke dying their declared Enemy, they might ſeize upon what they could. *Forza* by his Wife could ſet up no Title to the Dutchy, ſhe being a Baſtard, yet deſirous to put in for a ſhare, offered to be General of *Milan* againſt all who had any deſign upon it, and under this plauſible pretence queſtion'd not to advance himſelf, which he did. The Dutcheſs Dowager knowing *Forza*'s ambition, endeavoured to croſs him all ſhe could, and threatned to call in *Savoy* and *France* to oppoſe him; but the *Venetians* jealous of *France* countenanced *Forza*, though afterwards they were ſorry to ſee him become ſo ſoon Duke of *Milan*, and their gains ſo ſmall by ſo conſiderable a change: they ſolicited therefore *Leonel* to engage the King of *Naples* in a War with the New Duke, which he was not forward to meddle in, having helped to raiſe *Forza* to that greatneſs; and while theſe deſigns were

were a foot, *Leonel* died with the reputation rather of a good than an active Prince.

He was a great Patron of Letters; for beſides the Learned Men, whom he kept alwayes about him, and who had plentifull proviſions in his Univerſity, *Theodorus Gaza*, *Georgius Trapezuntius*, *Laurentius Valla*, and ſeveral others at *Rome* found the effects of his bounty, and much did ſuch perſons ſtand in need afterwards of ſo good a ſupport in the time of *Paul* the ſecond, and of *Sixtus* the fourth, eſpecially of the latter, to whom *Theodorus Gaza* preſenting a Book with a fine Dedication, after having beſtowed what money his poverty could ſpare in the neatneſs of the binding, the Popes liberality to him ſcarce amounted to that charge. But *Rome* was then what an Ingenious *French* Writer obſerves of it under a certain Heathen Emperour, when one pitiful Cook had a larger allowance than fifteen excellent Orators: For it is certain, that if thoſe who fled from *Conſtantinople* and other places, with the ruines of the *Greek* Learning,

Learning, had not found a true friend in their Countrey man *Beſſarion*, never ſufficiently to be commended upon this ſcore, they had as good have ſtayed in the Seraglio, as have come to the Vatican : They could have but ſtarved there, and ſo they might at the Court of *Sixtus*, if the *Greek* Cardinal, and ſome other generous perſons, ſuch as the Princes of *Eſté*, and the Houſe of *Medici*, had not contributed towards their maintenance.

CHAP. X.

The Life of Borſius *the firſt Duke of* Ferrara *and* Modena.

Leonel was no ſooner dead, but the Magiſtrates came to *Borſius* his Brother to ſalute him Marqueſs, who though he made ſome difficulty at firſt upon the account of his Brother *Hercules*, whoſe right it certainly was ; yet they ſoon wrought upon him to accept of the Government for ſome time, and when he was once in

in poſſeſſion, all parties appeared ſo well ſatisfied, that there were no thoughts of removing him while he lived. In his Youth he had been bred up in Arms, had made ſeveral Campagnes in the *Venetian* Army under *Forza*, and alſo in the *Milaneſe* Army had behaved himſelf ſo well, that many thought that Duke having no Sons, deſigned to have adopted him. The City of *Luca* hearing of *Leonels* death took Arms, and ſeized upon ſome Caſtles belonging to *Modena*; but the Troops diſpatched thither by *Borſius*, ſoon recovered them, and he was going in perſon to beſiege *Luca*, when the *Florentins* at the requeſt of that City made up the buſineſs, giving full reparation to the Marqueſs for all the damages received.

This ſucceſs diſcouraged others from giving *Borſius* any further trouble, and he ſeeing the occaſion his Brother had of getting more by the Duke of *Milans* death now loſt, reſolved to enjoy what he poſſeſt, and in his way of living to tread his Fathers foot-ſteps. *Frederick* the third

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in his paſſage to *Rome* was invited by *Borſius* to *Ferrara*, and treated there for a week moſt magnificently with all his Train, conſiſting of above two thouſand perſons; he preſented the Emperour at his departure with forty of the fineſt Horſes of *Italy*, beſides other rarities, the *German* Princes alſo and Nobility every one according to his Quality carried away ſome token of the Marqueſſes generoſity. 1452.

The Emperour wonderfully taken with the Noble Nature of *Borſius*, reſolved to advance him to the Dignity of a Duke, which was done at his return in this manner; a large Theatre being erected in the middle of the Piaza before the Palace, and upon it a Throne of Cloth of Gold, the Emperour in his Imperial Robes, with the Crown which the Pope had ſet upon his head ſome days before, came thither, and being placed in his Throne, the King of *Hungary* ſitting upon his right hand, and the Count of *Tirol* his Couſin, or as ſome Writers ſay, the Duke of *Auſtria*, upon his left; beſides many *Italian* and

German

German Princes placed according to their Quality : *Borſius* being richly apparell'd, and attended by four hundred Gentlemen, dreſſed all in the ſame manner, began his Cavalcade at the old Caſtle, and rid from thence towards the Piaza, three of the Chief Officers of his Court carrying large Banners before him ; the firſt of which had the Imperial Eagle, with the Arms of the Houſe of *Eſté*, in a field *verd*, and immediately after them a Gentleman with a naked Sword ; when they came near the Theatre and ſaw the Throne, all lighted, and *Borſius* advancing towards the Throne, kneeled before it, and had his Ducal Robes put on by the Emperour, who delivered him the firſt Banner for the Earldom of *Rovigo*, the ſecond for the Dutchy of *Modena* and *Regio*, the third with the naked Sword, as a Badge of his Abſolute Authority, and then declared him Duke of *Modena*, and *Regio*, and Earl of *Rovigo*, making him take his place by the King of *Hungary:* whereupon all the Princes and Ambaſſadors came to the Duke to Complement

plement him: The Emperour in his Patent expreſly mentions his doing now the ſame Honour to the Houſe of *Eſté*, which *Frederick* the ſecond had done about two hundred years before, to that branch of it that ſetled in *Germany*, meaning the Dukes of *Lunenburgh* and *Brunſwick*; he gave the Family a new Coat of Arms, and leave to ſeal with white wax, a punctilio much obſerved among the Princes of *Italy*. The Ceremony being over, they returned to the Palace where the Emperour was treated according to the Solemnity of the occaſion; and having ſtay'd ſome dayes longer went for *Germany*, *Frederick* and all his Court being fully ſatisfied that this great honour was well placed upon *Borſius*.

Forza was now more conſiderable than ever the late Duke of *Milan* had been, for though he had not enlarged his Dominions, yet being the greateſt Captain of his age, and one who had raiſed himſelf to this heighth meerly by his virtue, he made all *Italy* ſenſible of the Power of *Milan* under ſuch a Duke. Some, as the *Flo-*

rentins, were glad at any rate to buy his friendſhip, others who could not be threatned, as the King of *Naples* and the *Venetians* entered into a Confederacy againſt him, and the leſſer Powers according to their inclinations ſided with either, and ſo divided *Italy*, only *Borſius* having no proſpect of advantage by declaring, reſolved to continue in peace well armed, and to give or refuſe paſſage to their Troops as he ſhould judge moſt convenient. It is plain *Forza* and the *Venetians* fought for no leſs prize than the Soveraignty of *Lombardy*, the ruine of either party, as the caſe then ſtood, making it ſure for the other: And it was remarked to the great ſcandal of Chriſtianity, how that very day in which *Mahomet* ſeized upon the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*, their armies were hotly engaged, being both of one Religion, and of one Nation. If inſtead of ſheathing their Swords in one anothers ſides, the common intereſt of *Chriſtendome* had happily united them under ſuch a General as *Forza*, they might have ſaved that City and *Greece* from bondage, and

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ſo far at leaſt have checked the inſolence of this young Tyrant, that he durſt never have landed Forces in *Italy* to take *Otranto* as afterwards he did.

Upon the news of the loſs of *Conſtantinople*, the Pope diſpatched Legates to *Naples*, *Venice* and *Milan*, conjuring thoſe Princes to take pity on the dangerous ſtate of *Italy*; that ſo compoſing all differences, they might make Head againſt the Common Enemy, and joyn with *Scanderbeg* the King of *Epirus*, whom all allowed to be the beſt General againſt the *Turks* that any age had produced. *Borſius* was thought the moſt proper perſon to promote ſo good a work, and to him the King of *Naples* immediately ſent the terms he was willing to treat on: the *Venetians* likewiſe being apprehenſive of the *Turks* above all others, gave him encouragement to go on in it. *Borſius*'s Intereſt in the Duke of *Milan* made him not fear any ſtop there, and ſo warmly did he follow the buſineſs, that the peace was ſoon concluded: all expected in the next place a Con-

federacy againſt the *Turk*, which the death of *Nicolaus* the fifth retarded. His ſucceſſor *Calliſtus* indeed appeared very earneſt in it at firſt, but having got into his hands what money he could, the deſign was let fall.

1459. *Pius* the ſecond, formerly *Æneas Silvius* ſet the ſame deſign again a foot, but could bring it to nothing, till the heat of the War of *Naples*, invaded by the *French*, was a little over; and then going towards *Mantoua*, where he had called a Council, he viſited *Borſius*, and ſtayed with him twelve dayes, conſulting about ſo great an undertaking, for the Pope knew his Prudence and Intereſt could much advance it: and ſo well was he ſatisfied in diſcourſing the matter with *Borſius*, that he declared he would Create him Duke of *Ferrara*, as the Emperour had done of *Modena* ſome years before. At *Mantoua* mighty projects were laid, and afterwards ſome Forces raiſed, but all vaniſhed with the Popes death, and the Dukes additional Title was reſerved for *Paul* the ſecond to beſtow.

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The Dukes Brothers whom *Leonel* had ſent to *Naples* were grown weary of that Court. *Ferdinand* by joyning a *Spaniard* in Commiſſion with *Hercules* in the Government of *Apulia*, and by not treating him upon other occaſions ſuitably to his birth and merits, had ſo highly diſobliged him, that he and the Prince of *Taranto*, with ſeveral diſcontented Barons, took part with the *French*; wherefore *Borſius* ſeeing *Hercules* in danger, and *Sigiſmund* diſcountenanced, ſent for them home, and that it might appear he had not the leaſt jealouſie of either, the one was made Governour of *Modena*, the other of *Regio*. The Emperour *Frederick* coming again into *Italy*, could not paſs that way without viſiting *Borſius*, as he likewiſe did in his return; and to ſay no more, was both times treated at a rate peculiar to *Borſius*.

The *French* afterwards ſent to *Borſius* to make known their reſolution of invading *Naples* again, being encouraged in it by *Paul* the ſecond; but the Duke, though he had no kindneſs for *Ferdinand*, yet inſtead 1470.

of giving any aſſurances to *France*, ſent to the *Pope* to repreſent to him the unreaſonableneſs of the thing, how little he could expect from the *French*, how much he would diſturb the quiet of *Italy*, by calling them in, and diſoblige all the Princes, and that it would much better become him to conſult the common ſafety of *Chriſtendom*, and the quiet of *Italy*, by employing ſuch reſtleſs Princes againſt the *Turk*. The Pope being taken with the Dukes freedom, invited him after ſome time to *Rome*, and made good what *Pius* had promiſed, by Creating *Borſius* Duke of *Ferrara*: This new Title he did not long enjoy, for falling ſick, in a few dayes after his return he died.

Borſius was a juſt, a ſplendid, and a bountifull Prince: every day he uſed to walk in the Outer Court of his Palace, there to hear whatſoever complaints were brought him; if he obſerved any that had not the confidence to come, he called to them, and by his affable carriage encouraged them to ſpeak; oftentimes both parties appearing, he preſently came

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to a determination, and where the buſineſs was difficult, he would be ſure firſt to ask the Opinion of thoſe about him; and in this he took ſuch a particular pleaſure, that he often ſaid it was the chief work of Princes to be ready to examine and redreſs the grievances of the meaneſt of their Subjects; the reſt of his time he ſpent in hunting, in hawking, and in Horſe-matches, his Stables being the beſt furniſhed of any in *Italy*: His conſtant habit was rich Brocade, and the ſame he allowed to all his Buffoons, of whom his Court, according to the humour of that age was full; one of them called *Gonella* of *Ferrara* had ſo great a Name, that every witty ſaying, and briſk repartee was father'd upon him, and he was talked of in all the Courts of *Italy*. The hoſpitality, and bounty of *Borſius* was yet beyond all the reſt; whoever came within the Court might eat or drink what they pleaſed, Officers ſtill being in readineſs to treat them according to their quality: the names of all the poor in the City were written down, their wants plen-

tifully relieved, and portions given by the Duke with their Daughters in marriage: ſuch perſons were likewiſe deſired to give notice of their condition, and had Phyſick, and other neceſſaries accordingly ſent them. Every Chriſtmas day, the Treaſury being opened, *Borſius* came thither in perſon, and called all to whom he or his Officers owed any thing, to receive their money; which being done, as ſeldom it was then to do, what remained he divided with his own hands among the Gentlemen of his Court: In one word, ſuch was the bounty of his Nature, that there could ſcarce be given an inſtance of his ever having refuſed what any asked him. Theſe Princely Virtues made his Subjects heartily love him, and the love of his Subjects was of all things moſt proper to recommend him to ſtrangers; the Duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians*, who differed in moſt things, agreed in their good Opinion of *Borſius*. His Family after him bore the honourable badge of the value the Emperour and Pope had for him; and as if all this had been

been too little, or as ſomewhat of partiality had been in it, becauſe proceeding from thoſe of his own Countrey, or of his own Religion, a great *Mahumetan* Prince, the *Sultan* of *Ægypt*, by an Embaſſy and rich Preſents ſent to *Borſius* a little before his death, did demonſtrate, that his reputation was too large to be confined within *Italy*, or indeed within *Europe*.

CHAP. XI.

The Life of Hercules *the firſt, the ſecond Duke of* Ferrara, *&c.*

THe Mother of *Hercules* upon her Husbands death, and *Leonels* advancement, retired to the Marqueſs of *Saluzzo's*, with a vow, that ſhe would never ſee *Ferrara* till her Son were in poſſeſſion of his Right. Many melancholy years had ſhe ſpent while her Son lived in an honourable ſort of baniſhment at the Court of *Naples*: his returning home ſafe, which ſhe ſcarce expected, and his Brothers treating

treating him with much kindneſs, did a little raiſe her languiſhing ſpirits; but now hearing that *Borſius* was dead, and the injury done *Hercules* in ſome meaſure repaired by the acceſſion of a higher Title, ſhe with unexpreſſible joy made haſt towards *Ferrara*, where being ſcarce well arrived, ſhe had the comfort to ſee her other Son *Sigiſmund* return from *Naples* with the Kings Daughter for a Dutcheſs to *Hercules*, and to Crown her with all worldly happineſs, the next year brought her a Grand-child *Alphonſus*, Heir to the Dutchies of *Ferrara* and *Modena*.

After all the troubles *Hercules* met with, and his late eſtabliſhment in what was undoubtedly his at his Fathers death, *Nicolaus*, *Leonels* Son, who never durſt mutter while *Borſius* lived, had now the impudence to diſturb his quiet: He was a Grand-child of the Houſe of *Mantoua*, and wanted not thoſe at *Ferrara*, who upon the leaſt ſucceſs were ready to declare for him: this encouraged him with what Forces he could make to come by water from *Mantoua*, when

when the Duke ſeemed moſt ſecure, and being brought ſafe by night with his men into the chief ſtreet of *Ferrara*, he beat the Drums early in the morning for thoſe of his party to take Arms; but ſeeing none offering to joyn with him, the Guns playing from the Caſtle upon his Souldiers, and men beginning to appear in arms about the Palace Gate, he made haſt to get away, and was taken in his retreat: the Duke enclined to ſave him, but thoſe who knew his temper, being of another mind, he was formally condemned and beheaded with the Chief of his Followers; the reſt of the Priſoners were to be ſet at liberty, only a true-hearted *German* who had lived long with *Nicolaus*, and deſerved a more fortunate Maſter, when he ſaw his dead body, refuſing the benefit of the Dukes pardon, died the moſt gloriouſly of any in that quarrel. Two dayes after a Gentleman brought the Duke the names of all in *Ferrara* that were privy to the late deſign; but *Hercules* without ever opening the paper burnt it in the Gentlemans preſence, telling

telling him he intended to puniſh no more upon that account; that he would gladly have pardon'd his Couſin *Nicolaus*, if it could any wayes have conſiſted with his ſafety; that he deſired not to know who had been his Enemies, leſt he were thereby tempted to bear them a grudge; and that he would not have ſuch think he knew them, leſt it might occaſion a jealouſie of his being leſs tender of them than of the reſt of his Subjects.

Sixtus the fourth who ſucceeded *Paul*, deſigning to exalt his Nephews at any rate, and hoping if he could make ſure of *Julian*, and *Laurence* of *Medici*, *Florence* might eaſily be ſeized upon, procured the one to be murdered at Church before the very Altar, and the other to be deſperately wounded, and as they thought killed: But the blackneſs of the action put the whole City into ſuch a fury, that none of the Conſpirators, no not the Arch-biſhop of *Piſa* eſcaped, being hanged from the Palace windows, only the Popes Nephew, againſt whom the Evidence was not

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ſo clear, they ſhut up in priſon. The Pope grieved for the diſappointment, as likewiſe for the Arch-biſhops ignominious death, and the impriſonment of his Nephew, made ready the arms of the Church, and thoſe of the King of *Naples* againſt the *Florentins*; but they who were not to be threaten'd, neither by his Excommunication, nor the Kings Troops, out of their Liberty and the Juſtice of their Cauſe, had aſſiſtance from *Venice* and *Milan* with the Duke of *Ferrara* for their General: The War was carried on but faintly in the Popes behalf by the Duke of *Calabria*, and a Peace at length was concluded betwixt *Ferdinand* King of *Naples* and *Florence*, the Pope having loſt his honour without reaping any advantage by this wicked enterprize. 1479.

Some diſputes ariſing about the Confines of *Rovigo*, neither the Duke of *Ferrara*'s proffering to refer the matter in conteſt to any two Princes, nor *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, and *John Galeazo* Duke of *Milan*'s endeavouring an accommodation by their Ambaſſadors, could keep the

Venetians

Venetians from a War with him, the Pope they were ſure of, becauſe he hated the Duke ſince the war of *Florence*; but *Galeazo* and *Ferdinand* declared for him, and *Frederick* Duke of *Urbin*, eſteemed the greateſt Captain of *Italy* after the death of *Francis* of *Milan*, undertook the Conduct of his Army: The *Venetians* at firſt went on furiouſly, becauſe their Forces were much more numerous than the Dukes, and the Pope denyed paſſage to the Troops of *Naples*; but *Matthias* King of *Hungary*, who had married the Dutcheſs of *Ferrara*'s Siſter, and *Ferdinand* of *Spain* her Couſin, never gave over ſoliciting till the Pope broke with the *Venetians*, and then the Duke of *Calabria* having leave with his Army to march towards *Lombardy*, things went better with the Duke: and after ſeveral Campaignes, both parties being almoſt tired, acts of hoſtility came inſenſibly to ceaſe, a more dangerous war for *Italy* then breaking out.

1489. *Galeazo*'s Son of the ſame name being now Duke of *Milan*, and married to the Duke of *Calabria*'s Daughter, his

his Uncle *Lewis Forza* kept all the Power in his hands, much to the grief of the young Dutcheſs, who was more impatient than her Husband, ſo that ſhe never reſted till ſhe engaged her Father to write to *Lewis* to reſign the Government to his Nephew that was then of age, threatning that in caſe he refuſed he would ſee reaſon done to his Son-in-Law. *Lewis*, that he might find employment elſewhere for *Alphonſus*, invited *Charles* the eighth to the Conqueſt of *Naples*, to which he could make a ſpecious Title, and the King being young, ſtout and ambitious, to ſay no worſe, was eaſily engaged. What *Lewis* did, all thought to be by the advice of the Duke of *Ferrara*, whoſe Daughter *Beatrix* he had married: for the Duke, though he appeared not much in it, yet went with *Lewis* to meet the King of *Alexandria*. This Expedition is ſo exactly ſet down by *Guiccardin*, one of the beſt of the Modern Writers, that it will ſave all who come after him the pains of enlarging upon it; but in ſhort, there are few inſtances of a King-

Kingdom Conquered in leſs time, or with leſs reſiſtance: wherever *Charles* came the Gates were opened, and the Magiſtrates ready to ſalute him King; and at *Naples* he was welcomed as Emperour of the Eaſt: whether this were to gratifie a vanity they obſerved in the *French*, as *Alexander* the ſixth had done before at *Rome*; or if *Charles* and his Officers really gave out that he deſigned to paſs unto *Greece* againſt the *Turk*, I ſhall not determine; but too true it is, that this empty Title given him at *Naples*, coſt many thouſand Chriſtians in and about *Conſtantinople* their lives: for *Bajazet* the Father of *Selym* ſeemed jealous of ſome ſuch deſign, and of their being privy to it. The Kings great ſucceſs frighted the Princes of *Italy* into a Confederacy to cut him and his Army off in his return, and no perſon was ſo forward in this as *Lewis Forza* who had brought him in; but the Duke of *Ferrara*, tho' he had only complemented the King, ſtood more upon his Honour, and could by no perſwaſions be brought to the field againſt him:

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The Confederate Army truſting in its number, which was four to one, ſtopped the King near the River *Taro*, where he bravely fought his paſſage, and got ſafe into the Duke of *Savoy*'s Territories.

The Duke of *Orleans*, afterwards *Lewis* the twelfth, kept *Novara*, whither the Confederate Army marched to be revenged on him for the Kings eſcape; but there was no getting the place, till by the Duke of *Ferrara*'s mediation honourable Articles were granted the *French*: *Firſt*, that in lieu of *Novara*, *Forza* ſhould pay the Duke of *Orleans* a conſiderable ſumm of money. *Secondly*, that neither he nor the *Venetians* ſhould aſſiſt the houſe of *Arragon* in *Naples*; and in caſe the *Venetians* did, that then *Forza* ſhould be obliged to make war upon them: and for the performance of theſe Articles, the Caſtle of *Genoua* was conſigned into the Mediators hands, who ſent *Francis Raugoni* one of the chief Gentlemen of *Modena*, to take poſſeſſion of it, and to continue his Government there.

After the death of *Charles* the 8th,

Lewis the twelfth, being mindfull of *Forza*'s treachery, and encouraged by the *Venetians* invaded *Milan*; and notwithſtanding the endeavours of *Maximilian* the Emperour, and the great diverſion given the *Venetians* by the *Turks*, whom *Forza* had ſtir-
1500. red up againſt them, *Forza* loſt *Milan*, and was carried priſoner to *France*, there to end his dayes in a melancholy dungeon. The Duke of *Ferrara* not knowing how to meddle betwixt the King that was his Friend, and *Forza* to whom he was ſo nearly related, had obſerved in this War a perfect neutrality; but when the *French* Troops marched again to the Conqueſt of *Naples*, none was more forward than the Duke to aſſiſt them. The Great *Gonſalvo*, *Ferdinand* of *Caſtiles* General, being then in *Sicily*, they fatally adviſed *Lewis* to ſecure his friendſhip by allowing him a ſhare, which being agreed to, the diviſion of the Kingdom betwixt them coſt more time than the Conqueſt: for what oppoſition could two ſuch powerfull Princes meet with from *Frederick*, whom his Subjects hated

hated and contemned. But *Naples* was too narrow to ſatisfie both the *French* and the *Spaniards:* and *Gonſalvo* was a man of ſuch unlimited ambition, that a Controverſie began about a ſmall parcel of Ground, to which both parties pretended, and which nothing but Arms could decide. In this the *French* had ſo ill ſucceſs, that they were ſuddenly beat out of all, *Gonſalvo* with the *Spaniards* becoming then ſole Maſters of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which they have kept ever ſince.

About this time died *Hercules* Duke of *Ferrara*, whoſe life doth repreſent to us Fortune in all her different aſpects; he was born the undoubted Heir of one of the richeſt Princes of *Italy*, was left young by his Father, which made him come the later to his Eſtate after the death of two Brothers: Many ſtorms did he weather both in the Court and Wars of *Naples*, his own Courage and the Kings Malice expoſing him to every danger, till at length he changed parties. At his return from thence he lived for ſome time a Subject in his

own Principality, being glad to be a Governour of one of his Cities under his Brother. But the latter part of his life made a fair reparation for the former, no Prince of *Italy* being more valued or courted than *Hercules*; that very King of *Naples*, who hated him so much, sent to proffer him his Daughter in marriage, by whom he left a hopefull Issue: the Kings of *Castile* and *Hungary* when he was in danger by his War with *Venice*, gave testimony how much they were concerned to support him: *Henry* the seventh of *England* complemented him with the Order of the Garter; and three several Kings of *France* sought his Friendship as necessary for the advancement of their interest upon the other side of the *Alpes*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Life of Alphonſus *the firſt, the third Duke of* Ferrara.

HErcules had four Sons, *Alphonſus* who ſucceeded him, *Hippolytus* the former of the two famous Cardinals of *Eſté* of that name, *Ferdinand* and *Sigiſmund*; *Alphonſus* was twice married in his Fathers time, firſt to the Daughter of *John Galeazo* Duke of *Milan* when he was very young; and when ſhe died, a Match by *Lewis* the twelfth's means was made up betwixt him and *Lucretia Borgia* Pope *Alexander* the ſixth's Daughter, the King deſigning by this to unite the Duke with *Cæſar Borgia*, and both to himſelf. The firſt remarkable action we meet with in *Alphonſus* after his Fathers death, *Cæſar Borgia* being then ruined, was his defending *Bologna* for *Julius* the ſecond, and his defeating *Bentivoglio*, from whom the Pope had lately taken that City, and recommended it to the Duke. Not long after was the League

of *Cambray* concluded, where *Alphonſus* joyned with the Emperour, the Pope, the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, to take the *terra firma* from the *Venetians*.

The King of *France* began the War, and gave the *Venetian* Army, which was commanded, or rather divided by two Generals of quite different tempers, ſo great an overthrow, that the other Confederates did thereupon make the more haſt. The *Venetians* ſeeing themſelves in no condition to defend their Subjects, wiſely made a virtue of neceſſity, and allowed them the liberty to make the beſt terms they could with the Enemy, and ſo prevent their ruine: for they preſumed, and upon good grounds, that this inſtance of their tenderneſs, would invite them home to their ancient Maſters as ſoon as the ſtorm was over: being attacqued then on all hands, nothing except *Treviſo* was left them in a ſhort time, and the Duke of *Ferrara* for his ſhare was once in poſſeſſion of *Rovigo*, *la Badia*, with *Monſelice*, *Eſté*, and other places which formerly belonged

longed to his Family. Beſides the places he had taken, the Pope declared him the General of the Church, which made the *Venetians* diſcharge their whole fury upon him both by Sea and Land; but ſuch was their ill ſucceſs in every enterprize, that their very Navy became a prey to him that had no ſhips: for having chained them up by night within the mouth of the River where they thought themſelves ſecure, he burnt ſome, took others, and returned to *Ferrara* in a ſort of Naval Triumph upon one of their Chief Gallies. 1510.

The ſole hope now left the *Venetians* was to break a League in which ſo many Princes of different, or rather incompatible Intereſts were united; and this they found no hard matter, *Julius* being willing not only to take off his cenſures, but alſo to fall out with *France*, and to help to chaſe *Lewis* out of *Italy*, if they would give him the places in *Romagna*, which by the League were deſigned for him. It was not now time for the *Venetians* to ſtand at any thing, and therefore they readily ac-

quieſced to the Popes propoſals, and he ſent to the Duke of *Ferrara* to acquaint him with what he had done, and to deſire him to forbear any further acts of hoſtility againſt the Republick; but the Duke excuſed himſelf, ſaying that he could not in honour nor in conſcience abandon thoſe with whom he was in Confederacy. *Julius* taking this excuſe for a direct upbraiding himſelf with what he had done, excommunicated the Duke immediately, ſent Orders to *Romagna* to ſeize upon what places he poſſeſſed there, and exhorted the *Venetians* to fall upon him to revenge his and their quarrel: the Duke in a ſhort time loſt *Rovigo*, all the *Polecine*, *Morſelice* and *Eſté* on the one hand; and upon the other hand, all the places of *Romagna*, and which grieved him moſt, *Modena* and *Saſſuolo*, with ſeveral Caſtles near him: his only comfort was, he knew, that if he had pleaſed to make honour and conſcience truckle to Intereſt, he might have been a ſaver. But never reſolving to ſtear by this compaſs, nor to follow the precedent given him

him by *P. Julius*, he waited for better times, till he could fairly recover what he had unjuſtly loſt.

Never was Pope freer of his thunders than *Julius*, who ſeeing his ſucceſs againſt *Alphonſus*, took his aim a little higher, at *Lewis* the twelfth, deprived him of his Title of the moſt Chriſtian King, and of his Crown, and expoſed his Territoris as a prey to thoſe that could take them; but though his lightning did ſhine, it was not felt in *France*, otherwiſe than in provoking the good King to Vow, and to publiſh his Vow alſo in his coin, *That he would deſtroy Babylon*, meaning *Rome*. The King of *Caſtile* ſent an Army to aſſiſt the Pope and the *Venetians*, which made *Lewis* likewiſe re-inforce his Troops under a new General *Gaſton de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, to him he particularly recommended the concerns of the Duke of *Ferrara*, whom of all the *Italians* he had found the moſt truſty Confederate, and the *French* Army then lying in *Romagna*, the Duke recovered his places from *Julius*. *Gaſton* was impatient till he gave the Enemy

Enemy battle, which he did near *Ravenna*: the Duke commanded that part where the Artillery was planted, and they obſerved he uſed it with ſuch advantage, that it helped greatly to obtain the victory. When the Enemies main body was routed, and their Officers gone, in a little action fitter for ſome young Captain than a General, *Gaſton* was unhappily killed, and by his death he made that day remarkable above all others, that a victory may be too dear bought with the loſs of a General: for from that hour the *French* Arms declined in *Italy*, and did every day loſe ground, leaving thoſe at laſt, whom they had beaten, in poſſeſſion of what they fought for. There being now no *French* Army in the field, the Duke enclined to an accommodation with the Pope, *Fabricius Colonna* whom he had taken priſoner at *Ravenna*, and had uſed with great civility, and diſmiſt without any ranſom, promiſing to procure it upon equal terms; the Duke had an invitation from *Julius* to *Rome*, with aſſurances, that he ſhould find a reception anſwerable

to

to *Colonna*'s promiſe, as indeed he did, being immediately abſolved from all his cenſures; but when they came to treat, ſuch unreaſonable demands were made, that he choſe rather to venture all than agree to them, and the Pope ſeeing his reſolution deſigned to keep him there: *Colonna* who was the occaſion of the Dukes coming, thought his honour now ſo much at ſtake, that not valuing the Popes indignation, he brought the Duke from *Rome* by night in ſpite of the Guards, and committed him to the care of his Couſin *Proſper Colonna*, who with great Addreſs in the midſt of the noiſe of his eſcape brought him ſafe through the Popes Territories.

The Pope being upon this more enraged than ever, did, contrary to his promiſe, ſend to the Duke of *Urbin*, and his other Officers to get what they could before the Dukes return; moſt of the Dukes Subjects looked upon him now as irrecoverably loſt, not only the places in *Romagna*, but alſo *Regio*, *Breſcello* and *Carpi* yielded, ſo that little remained to him upon that

that hand, and all concluded that it must have ended in his utter ruine, had not God happily put an end to the life of *Julius*.

The person in the whole Colledge next to his Brother *Hippolytus* whom the Duke could have wished to succeed *Julius*, was *John* Cardinal of *Medici*, who in the former reign had secretly favoured him, and found wayes when employ'd as Legate in those parts to decline the executing the Popes violent resolutions against him. Upon the joyfull news of this Cardinals election, who is known by the name of *Leo* the tenth, the Duke went immediately to *Rome*, and came in time to be absolved anew, and to carry St *Peters* Standard, as great Confalonier, or General of the Church at the inauguration of *Leo*, who promised to restore whatever *Julius* had taken from him; but in a little time he was so strangely altered, that far from the least performance, he watched every opportunity to take from the Duke what was left him. Upon a report of his being dead, *Leo* ordered his Troops to march that way,

and

and when it proved a miſtake, he did endeavour to excuſe it, as if his deſign had been to ſecure the Dutchy for Prince *Hercules*, the Dukes eldeſt Son. His ill intentions were more plainly diſcovered two years after, for he hired one *Rodolphus* a Captain in the Dukes Guards to kill him; but the Captain by good luck had neither the courage to go through with what he had undertaken, nor yet to deny it. In ſhort, the Duke was much diſappointed in *Leo*, who could never be brought to make good his promiſe till *Francis* the firſt, who ſucceeded *Lewis* the twelfth, being well ſatisfied that all the Duke of *Ferrara*'s ſufferings, proceeded from his conſtant adhering to the *French* Intereſt, did refuſe to enter into any treaty with the Pope, unleſs the Duke were comprehended in it. 1520.

After *Leo*'s death no Prince complemented *Adrian* the ſixth with ſo noble an Embaſſy, as the Duke of *Ferrara* did, who upon the Popes arrival at *Rome*, ſent his Son *Hercules* thither attended by many of his chief Nobility: the young Prince was then but

but fourteen years of age, yet having his audience of *Adrian* before the Conſiſtory, he harangued ſo finely, and with ſo good a Grace, that the Pope embraced him with tears, and having asked him ſeveral queſtions in Latin, found him ſo much a Maſter of that Language, his anſwers ſo pertinent and lively, and in his whole behaviour a modeſt aſſurance ſo fitted to his age and quality; that *Adrian* declared before all the Cardinals, that he muſt grant the Duke of *Ferrara* whatever he demanded by ſuch an Extraordinary Ambaſſador. *Lucretia* the Mother of *Hercules* being dead, there lived a young Gentlewoman at *Ferrara*, called *Laura Euſtochia* ſufficiently qualified every way for a Princeſs, except in her birth; her perſon, her air, but above all, her wit did ſo charm the Duke, that after having ſometime Courted her, ſhe came to be his third Dutcheſs, and brought him two Sons, *Alphonſus* and *Alphonſinus*.

Much were the Duke and the Prince grieved for the death of ſo friendly a Pope as *Adrian*, when they perceived

perceived that *Clement* the ſeventh began to renew the practices of *Leo*, offering the Emperour great ſumms of money to have *Modena* and *Regio* given to himſelf and his Family; but the Emperour being unwilling to advance the Houſe of *Medici* by an act of injuſtice to that of *Eſté*, would not hearken to the propoſal, though the Popes bounty to his Miniſters who were to further it, had drained the Apoſtolical Chamber: this diſappointment which coſt *Clement* ſo dear, helped to haſten his unhappy breach with the Emperour, by which *Rome* was expoſed to the moſt barbarous uſage it had met with ſince the *Goths* and *Vandals* ſacked it, and he himſelf impriſoned in the Caſtle St *Angelo* by the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Army: Duke *Alphonſus* inſtead of inſulting over his Enemies miſery, was as forward as any to contribute towards his releaſement, and at *Ferrara* was a League of moſt of the Chriſtian Princes concluded againſt the Emperour to this very intent.

No man queſtioned but the Duke in this action had for ever ſecured to himſelf

himſelf an intereſt in *Clement*, who by his Legate offered to renounce all his pretenſions upon *Modena* and *Regio*, and to renew the inveſtiture of *Ferrara* as ſoon as ſhe ſhould be ſet at liberty; yet all was preſently forgot, and the only advantage the Duke had by this League was the match then made up betwixt his Son *Hercules* and *Renata*, *Lewis* the twelfths younger Daughter, who proved the moſt excellent Princeſs in all reſpects that ever *Italy* ſaw.

Amongſt other things, *Clement* had promiſed upon the death of Cardinal *Gonzaga*, the Biſhoprick of *Modena* to the Dukes ſecond Son *Hippolytus*; but it was given away to a Son of one of the Emperours Chief Favourites, purpoſely that the Duke by diſputing the buſineſs might draw upon himſelf the Emperours Indignation, if not his Arms: Other ſubtle Arts were uſed by *Clement* to ruine the Dukes Intereſt at that Court, yet to no effect, for when *Charles* the fifth came to *Bologna*, the Duke did fully ſatisfie him of the Juſtice of his proceedings with *Clement*; and the Popes pre-

pretenſions upon *Modena*, with the Dukes Title, being referr'd by both parties to the Emperour, ſentence was afterwards paſt in the Dukes favour, and Orders ſent to the Imperial Governour there, to deliver him up the City much to the grief of *Clement*, who taxed the Emperour with great partiality for one of the juſteſt deciſions that ever Prince made. 1530.

Some time after the reſtitution of *Modena*, the Princeſs *Renata* was brought to bed of *Alphonſus* the ſecond, the fifth and laſt Duke of *Ferrara*; and *Clement* the ſeventh died, who had made it the whole buſineſs of his reign to create himſelf and others trouble in heaping up riches for the Houſe of *Medici*.

Upon the Election of *Paul* the third, Prince *Hercules* deſigned to go in perſon to complement him; but while things were preparing for his journey, the Duke his Father fell ill and died. *Alphonſus* was a juſt and a valiant Prince. He had been hardly dealt with by three ſeveral Popes, *Julius* the ſecond, *Leo* the tenth, and *Clement* the ſeventh: Yet neither

threatnings nor promiſes could ever make him break his word, or abandon the *French*, though this conſtancy was ſeveral times like to have coſt him his Dutchy. In all his troubles he countenanced men that were Eminent in any profeſſion, and none more than his Subject and Citizen the great *Arioſto*, who at the Dukes inſtance was by *Charles* the fifth ſolemnly Crowned with Bayes at *Mantoua*, as a ſecond *Virgil*, for his *Orlando Furioſo*. Before his death he diſintangled himſelf from all his troubles, and left things in good order to *Hercules* the ſecond, having likewiſe provided the Sons of the laſt Dutcheſs with large Revenues and independent Juriſdictions.

CHAP. XIII.

The Life of Hercules *the ſecond, the fourth Duke of* Ferrara.

Hercules conſidering how welcome an Ambaſſador he had been from his Father to *Adrian* the ſixth,

ſixth, reſolved ſtill to pay that reſpect in perſon to *Paul* the third, which he was to have done in his Fathers name. When he came to *Rome* the Pope received him with much kindneſs, abſolved him and his Territories from all manner of Cenſures, renounced what pretenſions the late Popes made to *Modena*, and granted him the Inveſtiture of the Dutchy of *Ferrara*; from thence he went to *Naples* to ſee the Emperour, and to thank him for the Juſtice done in his Fathers differences with *Clement*; at his return he found his Dutcheſs ſafely delivered of a young Princeſs, named *Lucretia*, who afterwards married the brave *Francis Maria* Duke of *Urbin*; and the next year ſhe brought him a ſecond Son, called *Lewis* after his Grandfather the King of *France*. Amidſt all theſe bleſſings he narrowly eſcaped being aſſaſinated by a Gentleman of his Court, who had of late born him a grudge; the deſign being diſcovered the Gentleman fled to *Venice*, where by the Senates Order he was taken, put in chains, and ſent to *Ferrara* to

be beheaded for his villanous intention; but the Duke in remembrance of their ancient friendſhip, remitted the puniſhment, being ſatisfied only to ſecure himſelf, by condemning the Criminal to a perpetual impriſonment.

His Brother *Hippolytus* being already Arch-biſhop of *Milan*, and one of the richeſt Abbots of *France*, had a Cardinals Cap given him; his promotion was welcome to thoſe that remembred the late Cardinal his Uncle, ſo celebrated in the Court of *Rome* for his profuſe liberality: nor
1540. did the Nephew diſappoint their expectations, for as in riches he was equal to the former; ſo was he alſo in that greatneſs of mind, which put no reſtraint to his bounty. And as his Uncles Palace had been in *Leo* the tenth, *Adrian* the ſixth, and *Clement* the ſeventh's reigns; ſo now his was the ſanctuary of all diſtreſſed Gentlemen, and poor Virtuoſo's: And to compleat the parallel, the ſame imputation lay upon both, of having no deep impreſſions of Religion; for that curſed leaven of Atheiſm that poiſoned *Leo* the tenth's

tenth's Court, had not a little infected theſe two Princes, whoſe irreverent and light expreſſions in matters of the higheſt importance, are not yet forgot. The Duke behav'd himſelf much better, in making rigid Laws againſt all ſuch as were convicted of blaſphemous words, or of ſcoffing at things ſacred, propoſing rewards to the diſcoverers.

The Pope going to *Parma* to put his Son *Peter* in poſſeſſion of that Dutchy came to viſit the Duke at *Ferrara*, where nothing was left undone that could expreſs his reſpect towards a Pope, who had ſhewed ſo much kindneſs to the Family. I have ſeen a long deſcription of the manner of his Reception, of his Entertainment, of the Balls and Comedies acted by the young Princes, and the Chief Ladies of the Court, with the mutual preſents that paſt at their departure, which though in themſelves truly great, yet can have no place in ſo compendious a relation: That which ſeems more remarkable, is, the honour the Duke did to *Alphonſus* his younger Brother, by his Fathers

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laſt Dutcheſs, who being married to the Duke of *Urbin*'s Siſter, the Duke with a great part of his Court, accompanied him to *Peſaro* to bring home his Princeſs, and ſhe was received at *Ferrara*, as if ſhe had been his own Dutcheſs.

Paul being dead, and *Julius* the third choſen, in ſeveral places of *Italy* they diſcovered ſome inclinations
1550. to the Reformed Religion, and no where more than at the Court of *Ferrara*, eſpecially among thoſe who attended on the Dutcheſs, and there were ſhrewd ſuſpicions that the Dutcheſs did inwardly favour that perſwaſion: for profeſſing her ſelf a great lover of Learned Men, and all ſuch being welcome to her, under this mask ſeveral Eminent Proteſtants, among the reſt *Calvin* had free acceſs and opportunity to confirm her in her favourable Opinion of them: the Duke being informed of theſe things, was adviſed to bring in the Jeſuits, who then began to have a vogue for their zeal and ſubtilty in ſupporting the declining Religion; and no ſooner were they ſetled, but great alterations

rations followed at Court; the former freedom in Converſation could no longer be allow'd, the *French* ſervants were on a ſudden diſmiſt, ſtrangers were forbid coming thither, the poor Dutcheſs was confined to a few rooms in the Caſtle, and had new Servants put about her; and the young Princeſſes, as if in great danger with their Mother, were ſent to a Monaſtery, there to be inſtructed anew by the Nuns, who were to receive directions from theſe good Fathers.

After *Julius* the third, *Paul* the fourth, whom *Hippolytus* by his Intereſt advanced, falling out with *Philip* the ſecond of *Spain*, engaged *France* in his quarrel: the Duke of *Ferrara* was declared General of the *French* Arms in *Italy*, as likewiſe of the Church; but he declining the Employment, it was given to his Son *Alphonſus*, who was well known at the Court of *France*, and high in the eſteem of *Henry* the ſecond: The Dukes refuſal while his Son accepted the Command, ſignified nothing to *Philip*, who laboured hard to make

a breach betwixt him and the *Venetians*; but they not being diſpoſed then to enter into a War in the *Spaniſh* Quarrel, excuſed themſelves, pretending that the Dukes being a Gentleman of *Venice*, and a member of their great Council, he muſt firſt forfeit that priviledge before they could ſo far diſown him as to come to a War. The great overthrow the *French* received at St *Quintin*, put the Duke and all that party in *Italy* in ſome apprehenſions; but the Victory not being purſued, a Peace was ſome time after concluded betwixt the two Crowns, and then died *Hercules* the fourth Duke of *Ferrara* in the fiftieth year of his age. In his youth he had been the moſt hopefull Prince of *Italy* for all manner of accompliſhments: After his Fathers death he lived in peace, govern'd his Subjects with great gentleneſs, no Prince ever was readier to pardon injuries, or to oblige every perſon about him; the expence of his Court being great, and his Subjects ſlow in granting new Subſidies, he did much anticipate his Revenue, by borrowing

ing money upon ſeveral branches of it, in which his Subjects did not think fit to concern themſelves, ſeeing it only emptied his Exchequer, and made the Government uneaſie for his Succeſſor.

CHAP. XIV.

The Life of Alphonſus *the ſecond, the fifth and laſt Duke of* Ferrara.

AN Expreſs was immediately diſpatched by the Dutcheſs to her Son *Alphonſus* then at the Court of *France*, who making what haſt he could to *Marſeilles*, took ſhip, and had a quick paſſage to *Legorn*, where *Coſmus* Duke of *Florence* with many of the *Toſcan* Nobility were ready to welcome him, and ſaw him ſafe in his own Territories. Near *Modena* his Uncle *Alphonſus*, and the whole Gentry of that Countrey received him; and at *Ferrara* he made a publick entry, paſſing through five triumphal Arches erected at the Cities charge. Next morning was the death of

of *Hercules* the ſecond publiſhed, *Alphonſus* by ſound of Trumpet was proclaimed Duke, the Scepter and Sword delivered to him by the Chief Magiſtrate upon his knees; and an Oath of Allegiance taken by him to the new Duke, in the name of all the people: the Duke alſo according to the uſual form, ſwearing he would be a Juſt Prince, and conſult the Common Intereſt of his Subjects. Which ſolemnity being over, *Alphonſus* made his Fathers Funeral Rites be performed with great decency; and then he ſent *Francis* one of the Princes of *Eſté* to *Florence* to bring home his
1560. Dutcheſs that Dukes Daughter. According to the account I have ſeen, nothing could be more magnificent than the train ſhe brought along with her, and the manner of her reception at *Ferrara*.

The Dutcheſs Dowager having no comfort in her ſtay in *Italy* after her Husbands death, returned to her Native Countrey, from which ſhe had been ſo many years abſent; and left all *Ferrara*, except the Jeſuits, in tears for the loſs of ſo incomparable a Princeſs.

a Princeſs. The Gentry when ſhe firſt came thither, conſidering her as *Lewis* the twelfth's Daughter, bred up in the moſt glorious Court of *Chriſtendom*, where Princes of the blood, eſpecially the Kings Children could not have too much reſpect payed them, expected to be kept at a greater diſtance now than they had been under the former Dutcheſſes; but on the contrary, acceſs to her was ſo eaſie, her converſation ſo free, and her whole deportment ſo modeſt, that had ſhe been the Daughter of a little Duke of *Saluzzo*, or an *Euſtochia Laura* raiſed by her virtue, ſhe could not have taken leſs ſtate upon her: All the Learned found the good effects of her Patronage, and were as liberal in ſetting out her Virtues, as ſhe could be towards their ſupport: The Poor and the Sick were ſure of relief, and Orphans of care and protection. So that in the whole City of *Ferrara* there was ſcarce a perſon, that could not ſhew ſome inſtance of that unlimited goodneſs which had ſo long time diffuſed it ſelf upon all her ſubjects without miſſing rich or poor.

Prince

Prince *Lewis* after his return from *France*, whither he went to accompany the Dutcheſs his Mother, was created Cardinal; and while the joy of his promotion filled the Court with Balls and Banquets, the death of the Dutcheſs *Lucretia* changed the ſcene: ſhe had lived but fourteen months with her Husband, and had left him childleſs; yet this was in ſome meaſure repaired by the birth of *Cæſar* the Son of *Alphonſus*, and *Julia* of *Urbin* in whom the Duke could not want a Succeſſor.

Cardinal *Hippolytus* had been Legate in *France*, and returning thence with the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and many *French* and *Italian* Noblemen, they were all treated at his Nephews Court, where at the ſame time there happened to be ſeveral other Princes; and then it was that *Hippolytus* playing at Cards, with a vaſt ſumm at ſtake, and all the good Cards in his hand, made a hard ſhift to loſe, whiſpering to one of his Confidents, who ſeeing his hand ſeemed ſurprized, that he was more a Gentleman than to win ſo much money of ſtrangers at the Court

Court of *Ferrara*; but if he had ſuch luck in *France* or at *Rome*, he knew how to make the beſt of it.

The Duke was eaſily reconciled to a ſecond marriage, when the Emperour *Maximilian* proffered him the Princeſs *Barbara* his Daughter; the Cardinal *Lewis* went to meet her at *Trent*, and brought her to *Ferrara* with all the ſtate that either the Princes of *Eſté*, or that City could ſhew upon ſo ſolemn an occaſion. The War in *Hungary* growing hot with the *Turk*, *Maximilian* invited the Chriſtian Princes to his aſſiſtance, and thither went the Duke of *Ferrara* with fifteen hundred Horſe, having ſent the Officers of his Houſehold before with the Baggage: ſoon after their arrival in the Imperial Army, *Solymans* death put an end to the War. This Expedition was very chargeable to the Duke, for beſides the length of the march, he had three hundred Gentlemen cloathed in Velvet richly embroidered, with Servants all in the ſame Livery; the reſt alſo were ſo finely accoutered, that they ſeemed rather deſigned for a Cavalcade

cade than an Army; his zeal however and his magnificence in this great appearance was ſo much taken notice of, that ſome years after they named him in *Poland* among the Princes who were Candidates for that Crown; and it was thought, if *Maximilian* had not in vain deſigned it for himſelf, he might have carried it for his Son in Law the Duke of *Ferrara.*

The Duke having no concerns at *Rome* for three or four reigns, which therefore I paſs in ſilence, ſpent his time in entertaining all the Princes that came that way, and in diverting himſelf. Great complaints were brought him of the Countrey peoples ſpoiling his Game at a diſtance from the Court, which made all the penal Laws againſt ſuch abuſes be renewed; but they continuing ſtill to tranſgreſs, truſting either that they ſhould not be diſcovered, or if they were, that the Duke would not be rigid, a more effectual courſe was found out: for ſeveral high-way-men being ſentenced for other crimes to die, were ordered to be hanged up in

1570.

in thoſe fields, ſome with Partridges, ſome with Pheaſants, ſome with Hares about their legs, the Dukes Officers giving out that they were put to death for killing ſuch. This ſo frighted the people, that never was Game in *Italy* ſo preſerved, as in the Countrey about *Ferrara*; but withall it did beget in them ſuch an Opinion of the Dukes cruelty, that they could never afterwards be brought to have a hearty kindneſs for him: and though others who were privy to the thing, laboured to diſabuſe them, yet it was now ſunk too deep to be removed.

The Dutcheſs *Barbara* being dead, the Duke was again married to a Daughter of *Mantona*; but there being no hopes of Children by any, he began to look upon *Cæſar*, the Son of his Uncle *Alphonſus*, as moſt likely now to ſucceed him: with this proſpect he procured a marriage for him with the Great Dukes Daughter, and made him larger appointments than formerly. *Sixtus Quintus* being lately choſen Pope, *Cæſar* by the Dukes advice went to *Rome*, whence he returned very well ſatisfied: ſoon 1580.

after

after died *Lewis* the Cardinal to the great grief of the Duke his Brother, and this grief was not digeſted when he had news from *Blois* of the fatal deaths of the Duke and Cardinal of *Guiſe*, whoſe Mother was the Dukes Eldeſt Siſter.

Italy had been a conſiderable time without War, but the *Bandito*'s were now grown more terrible than any Enemy; eſpecially in *Romagna*, where liſting themſelves in three Companies, above ſix hundred in all, they put the whole Countrey under Contribution, they had the impudence to erect Judicatures, try men for their Lives, give Paſſports, and Commiſſions, impoſe Taxes, and to act by a Soveraign Power they had aſſumed to themſelves; they mocked all Princes, eſpecially the Pope, upon whom they lay heavieſt; and when ever thoſe of Religious Orders were brought before them, they would have them fall down and worſhip them: If any Town failed to ſend them what they required, within a few dayes it was ſure to ſmart for it; for they being all deſperate *Bandito*'s well

well armed, there was no reſiſting them, till upon grievous complaints of their cruelty, the Duke ſent Count *Montecuculi*, with ſome other good Officers, and ſeveral Companies well provided with ammunition, who in two months time killed the Chief of them, and diſſipated the reſt, of whom few eſcaped, the whole Countrey riſing upon them.

The Duke being grieved at the loſs of his Brother, and of his Nephews, as alſo to ſee himſelf decay apace without Children, ſent to the Emperours Court to renew the inveſtiture of the Dutchy of *Modena* and *Regio* to himſelf and his Couſin *Cæſar*; which was accordingly done without any difficulty: at *Rome* he was not ſo fairly dealt with, but put off with empty excuſes from time to time, and the Popes dying before the buſineſs could be brought to an Iſſue, in the next reign he was obliged to begin again. When he heard of the Election of *Clement* the eighth, he did not queſtion, but he was fallen into good hands, *Clement*'s Father, having raiſed himſelf by the bounty of the 1590.

late Duke, and of his Uncle *Hippolytus*, not only from a low but from a neceſſitous condition, as *Clement* had alwayes own'd while a Cardinal; but now being Pope he grew more reſerved in his acknowledgements, yet upon every occaſion expreſſed a moſt particular zeal for the Houſe of *Eſté*: The Duke truſting in his kindneſs, and foreſeeing his own death at hand, made his laſt Will, by which he declared his Couſin Prince *Cæſar* his Heir; three or four dayes after he was taken ill of a feaver, in which at firſt there appear'd no danger, but the malignity of the diſtemper diſcovering it ſelf, and Nature being quite ſpent, he called to him Prince *Cæſar*, made his Will be opened, and read in the preſence of many of the Nobility, recommended his particular Friends and Servants to his Couſins care; exhorted him to be a Juſt Prince, and the Nobility to continue dutifull and obedient as he had ever found them; and then died with
1597. great compoſure of mind. He was tall of ſtature and well proportion'd, of a freſh complexion, and a chear-

full

full countenance; and beſides the ordinary traits of a good face, had according to the obſervation of one that knew him, ſome thing of Majeſty proper to the Houſe of *Eſté*; which challenged an awfull Reverence as well as Love from all that beheld him: They were diſappointed who expected treaſures at his death, and no wonder, for the conſtant charge of his Court, with the extraordinary charities he did in time of Famine, gave a full account of his Revenue. The Court of *Ferrara*, though very ancient, yet may be ſaid to have received its firſt Luſtre from the Marqueſs *Nicolaus*, before *Eugenius* the fourth kept his Council there. *Leonel* did endeavour to imitate his Father; but *Borſius* his ſecond Son, and the firſt Duke, raiſed things to a higher pitch, and became famous all *Europe* over for the greatneſs in which he lived. *Hercules* the firſt, with his Dutcheſs *Leonora* of *Arragon*, added every thing that was Gentile at the Court of *Naples*, making *Ferrara* not only a Court fit for Gentlemen, as it was in the time of *Bor-*

ſius who lived ſingle, but for Ladies alſo: under *Alphonſus* the firſt, notwithſtanding his conſtant War, nothing of the former ſtate was loſt. And when *Herculeſ* the ſecond brought his Dutcheſs *Renata* from *France*, the alterations ſhe made were much for the better: But the late Duke did yet outdo thoſe that went before him, rendering his Court an Epitome of whatever was fine or great in *France*, *Germany* or *Italy*. Princes came long journeys on purpoſe to ſee it, and by all their confeſſions, though ſome Courts might be greater, yet none in other reſpects did come near that of *Ferrara*.

Nor was it an empty ſhew; for with that noble entertainment ſuch as *Italy* has not ſince ſeen for ſtrangers of all qualities, ſome thouſands of poor had their daily maintenance thence: The young Gentlemen of Quality were at ſuch an age received into the number of the Dukes Pages, and bred up to all manner of exerciſe beyond any Academy of the world; and owing their Education to their Prince, for the moſt part they

they dedicated their lives to his ſervice, either being entertained as Officers of his Houſehold, as Captains of his Guards, as Governours of his Caſtles; or employed as Miniſters in foreign Courts, where the Ambaſſadors of *Ferrara* in their Equipage and behaviour gave ſtrangers ſome notion of the place from whence they came. None of the Dukes Subjects that excelled in any thing needed go to a foreign Court for want of encouragement at home; and Cavalier *Guarini* the Author of *Paſtor Fido*, who raſhly engaged himſelf to the Duke of *Savoy*, much repented him of his change, but could not again be reſtored to his Countrey, or to the favour of his Prince, who thought himſelf affronted by his departure. The loſs of *Guarini* was ſufficiently repaired in the great *Torquato Taſſo* a *Neapolitan* born, who in his diſtreſs, as he himſelf owns, found ſhelter at *Ferrara*: There it was that he compoſed his *Gieruſalemme Liberata*, eſteemed to be abſolutely the beſt Heroick Poem of all the *Moderns*.

The happy influence a Virtuous Court has upon all near it, was here apparent: for the whole City resembled a great University: Academies being erected for Painting, Musick, Poetry, Mathematicks, and the like in every corner; the very Monasteries and Nunneries turned Seminaries of Virtue, and most Citizens consulting the capacity and genius of their Children spared no charge in breeding them to what one day they hoped might advance their fortunes in the Court they little imagined this envied felicity was so near a period, that *Alphonsus* the second was to be the last Duke of *Ferrara*, or that the Court: of *Este* was to be removed to another City; while they having no Prince either to reward their Virtue or redress their grievances, were to be left to the mercy of Ministers, that bought their places at *Rome*, and came thither only to reimburse themselves at *Ferrara*'s cost.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The pretended devolution of the Dutchy of Ferrara, Clement *the eighths manner of proceeding with Duke* Cæſar, *and his retirement to* Modena.

WHen the death of *Alphonſus* was known at *Rome*, it was preſently given out there, that the Dutchy of *Ferrara* came by devolution to the Pope, becauſe the preſent Dukes Father the Son of *Alphonſus* the firſt, was not as they falſely pretended at *Rome*, begot in lawfull wedlock, nor *Laura Euſtochia* whom we upon good grounds call *Alphonſus*'s third Dutcheſs, ever married to him: That which gave the riſe to this report was the familiarity obſerved betwixt the Duke and this Lady before they owned a marriage, and their having been married privately without any of the formalities obſerved by Princes upon ſuch occaſions. This *Alphonſus* did to humour his Son *Hercules* by his former Dutcheſs, who had no kindneſs for

the Lady *Laura*; and therefore he gave too much way afterwards to this false report, being angry likewise with her Sons, his younger Brothers, because his greatness was impaired by the loss of the Lands, and independent Jurisdictions bestowed upon them by *Alphonsus*. But to clear a matter of such importance, and to do Justice to one of the most Illustrious Races in the world, I have at the end of this History set down in *Italian* and *English* what was offered in writing to *Urban* the eighth by the present Duke of *Modena*'s Grand-father *Francis* the first, who if he had lived was likely enough to have made good his Title to *Ferrara* by his Sword, as well as his Pen; being the stoutest Prince, and greatest Captain of *Italy* in our age. To the Dukes own words then as of unquestionable Authority, I refer the Impartial Reader, not doubting but they will satisfie others as much as they did my self.

The death of *Alphonsus* the second being published, and the whole Magistracy, Nobility and Representatives

tives of the People being aſſembled, the Judge of the twelve *Savii*, after having condoled the loſs of the late Duke, commanded his Will to be read openly; and then according to the ancient cuſtom of that City, asked them if they were not willing to have *Don Cæſar* of *Eſté* the Grandchild of *Alphonſus* the firſt, and the Teſtators Couſin German, for their Prince, to which all did anſwer in the affirmative, and with great acclamations of joy declared *Cæſar* Duke of *Ferrara*, &c. Next morning in a ſolemn manner they came to the Palace to pay their homage to their New Duke, who ſitting upon a Throne in his Ducal habit, received them, and the Judge of the *Savii* kneeling before the Throne, did in the name of all the reſt deliver him the Sword and Scepter: Then *Cæſar* with his Ducal Crown upon his head coming out of his Palace, and taking Horſe in the great Piazza, having the Ambaſſador of *Florence* upon his right hand, and the Judge of the *Savii* upon his left, the Marqueſs of *Bentivoglio*, carrying the naked Sword before

before him, began his Cavalcade through the City: all the ſtreets as he paſt, ecchoing, with *Long live Cæſar Duke of Ferrara*; the Cavalcade ended at the great Church, where after High Maſs, the Judge did adminiſter him his Coronation Oath, and then *Te Deum* being ſung, he returned to his Palace.

The ſolemnity being over, the Duke reſolved in Council to diſpatch Ambaſſadors to the Pope, the Emperour, the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, to the Republicks of *Venice* and *Genoua*, and to the reſt of the Princes of *Italy*, with an account of what had paſt: For theſe Embaſſies the Chief of the Nobility were deſigned, but afterwards he found his miſtake too late, when that to complement foreign Princes, he deprived himſelf of thoſe perſons, who for their Loyalty and Intereſt could have done him better ſervice at home in ſo critical a conjuncture.

Advice being brought to *Rome* of the Dukes Coronation, *Clement* the eighth, without expecting the Ambaſſadors arrival, gave order for a Monitory

Monitory to be immediately iſſued out, requiring the Duke within fourteen dayes to render an account at *Rome* of the reaſons of his proceedings. The Duke by an expreſs to his Ambaſſador, endeavoured to divert the Pope from this violent courſe, by ſuſpending his Monitory, or at leaſt by granting him longer time in a matter of that conſequence; offering moreover to refer the whole difference betwixt him and the Pope, either to the King of *Spain*, or any other Prince, whom *Clement* ſhould think fit to pitch upon: Moſt perſons thought the Pope would readily have complyed with ſo reaſonable a propoſal, which yet he could by no means be brought to hearken to, but diſmiſt the Ambaſſador without any hopes of an accommodation.

After the Ambaſſadors departure, the Pope called a Conſiſtory, that he might have the advice of his Cardinals, before he proceeded further in what concerned the Apoſtolical Sea ſo near; there the Cardinals did much differ in their Opinions, ſome by a faint compliance with what they judged

judged the Pope enelined to, were for his going on immediately, both with his ſpiritual and temporal arms againſt the Duke; others looked upon this as a method not ſo ſuitable to the Apoſtolical See, where nothing of precipitancy ought to take place; and therefore gave their judgment that his Holineſs was never to have recourſe to ſuch ſevere remedies, till ſuch time as it appeared the Duke was not to be wrought upon by gentler means. But thoſe who underſtood what fair proffers were made by the Ambaſſador of *Ferrara*, did diſapprove of violent courſes at any rate; being of opinion, that the Pope had better wave his pretenſions to *Ferrara*, than by excommunicating the Duke, to enter into a War, and ſo kindle a fire in *Italy* which would not eaſily be quenched: they urged that the City of *Ferrara* was well fortified and peopled, and that no Princes were ever more beloved of their Subjects than thoſe of *Eſté*, whom undoubtedly they would not eaſily be brought to part with. Beſides they had reaſon to believe the Duke

Duke had made ſure of his Allies, and of all thoſe who were already jealous of the Popes greatneſs; whereas on the contrary, they could think of none among all the Princes of *Italy*, that would declare in favour of the Pope.

The Pope ſeeing the Cardinals ſo much divided broke up the Conſiſtory without coming to any reſolution; but while he was doubtfull within himſelf, whether it were better to proceed in his undertaking, or to give it quite over, one of the Cardinals having obtained a private Audience, told him, that notwithſtanding all the difficulties propoſed in the Conſiſtory, yet if his Holineſs would vouchſafe to follow his advice, *Ferrara* ſhould undoubtedly fall into his hands without putting him to much expence, either of money or of blood. *I confeſs*, ſayes he, *the City of* Ferrara *is ſtrong and well peopled, and that the Prince is there generally beloved more than any where elſe in* Italy, *which perhaps may diſcourage your Holineſs from making good your Title; yet I queſtion not but by the diſcreet management of ſome perſon of credit and intereſt at that*

that Court, in whom you may confide, many of the Dukes friends may be gained, his moſt ſecret Councils revealed, and the City it ſelf made glad to receive your Holineſs. We know, ſayes the Cardinal, *how* Ferrara *abounds with Nobility, whoſe Fortunes are narrower than their minds, and who cannot all expect preferment at that Court; beſides there are queſtionleſs ſome there, as about all Courts, who are angry with the Government, not thinking themſelves conſidered according to their merits. Upon ſuch ambitious and diſcontented ſpirits large promiſes made in your Holineſſes name, will be ſure to work, ſuch muſt be made ſenſible of the happy exchange from a private Prince to a Pope, in whoſe power it is to reward the Virtuous, and thoſe who deſerve his favour, with the higheſt dignities, ſubjects are capable of; and how thoſe who are immediately under the Church, have much the advantage of all others in their pretenſions at* Rome. *And when the perſon,* ſayes the Cardinal *thus employed can ſhew his Authority for what he promiſes under your Holineſſes hand and ſeal, they will*

will ſtrive to out-do one another in their zeal to promote your ſervice.

The Pope did heartily approve of this project, and as ſoon as the Cardinal was gone, the *French* Ambaſſador came to aſſure the Pope in his Maſters Name, That he was reſolved to declare for him, and to fall upon thoſe who ſhould appear in the behalf of the Duke of *Ferrara*. *Henry* the fourth renouncing the Reformed Religion, had reconciled himſelf to *Rome* ſome time before, and thought this a fit occaſion to expreſs his unfeigned zeal for the Church, which many ſtill queſtioned: But truly his abandoning thus the Houſe of *Eſté*, which had for many ages adhered ſo ſtedfaſtly to the Intereſts of *France*, did little raiſe his reputation any where, except at *Rome*; nor doth this deſerve to be recorded by Poſterity among thoſe Heroick Actions, which have got him the Name of *Henry the Great*. In ſhort, the Cardinals ſubtile advice ſeconded by the hopes of aſſiſtance from *France* confirmed *Clement* in his former reſolution of ſetting all expedients a foot

to

to turn Duke *Cæsar* out of *Ferrara*.

The Duke renew'd his instances, either to have the matter in contest referr'd to the King of *Spain*, or at least to have a competent time allow'd him to sum up his reasons, in which he was confident, not only to satisfie all indifferent persons, but even the Pope himself; but at *Rome* it was resolved, that neither reference nor reasons should now take place; and that the Duke, for not complying with the Monitory, though it required of him things impossible, was forthwith to be excommunicated. That the excommunication might give the smarter blow, Colonels and Officers were named, and Forces raised to go against the Duke: there was also a great deal of money coin'd with the Arms of *Aldobrandin* upon the one side; and upon the other was a small ship tost by the waves, and St *Peter* sitting at the Helm, with this Motto in Latine, *Non prævalebunt*, *They shall not prevail.*

The Duke being inform'd of all that past publickly, but ignorant of the secret practices against him, dis-

patched

patched immediately a famous Civilian to *Rome*, who undertook to ſatisfie ſuch as the Pope ſhould appoint to hear him: *Firſt*, that the Princes of *Eſté* never held *Ferrara* of the Church as a feudal City, by proving which he removed one of the chief pillars of its pretended devolution. *Secondly*, that *Alphonſus* the firſt, Duke *Cæſars* Grand-father, was married to the Lady *Laura Euſtochia*, of which he brought moſt unqueſtionable teſtimonies; and this removed the other objection againſt the Dukes perſon: but the Excommunication being now drawn up, and the Forces already upon their march, there was nothing more to be done by way of Treaty; ſo that the Duke was at length forced to have recourſe to his Arms for maintaining the Juſtice of his Cauſe: having therefore called the Magiſtrates, and the Chief of the Nobility together, he gave them an account what endeavours he had uſed, though unſucceſsfully to ſweeten the Pope, and prevent a rupture, that now being neceſſitated to take Arms in his own defence, he hoped all of them would

concur, and not ſuffer the Princes of *Eſté*, under whoſe auſpicious Government, they and their Anceſtors had for many ages enjoy'd ſo great priviledges, to be violently and unjuſtly thruſt out of their Native Countrey; then the method of carrying on the War being ſet down, every one ſeemed chearfully to undertake ſome part of the charge and danger, tho' in effect, the Popes Emiſſaries had already laid the train according to the Cardinals project; and the Duke had now no greater Enemies than ſome of thoſe who were moſt in his confidence.

Upon the news of the Excommunications being publiſhed at *Rome*, and ſent by the Army towards *Lombardy*; the Duke ſent once more to *Clement*, expoſtulating about his ill uſage, and entreating him to conſider how hard it was to haſten ſo ſevere a ſentence, without firſt allowing time and appointing Judges (as he had moſt earneſtly decreed) to hear his reaſons. And, laſt of all, he modeſtly laid before him how little it would be for the honour of the Apoſtolical See for his Holineſs

Holineſs to proceed after this manner in an affair wholly temporal, wherein he himſelf was both Judge and Party, which made the Duke ſtill hope, that upon cooler thoughts he would think fit to put a ſtop to the Sentence before it were publiſhed in *Lombardy*.

The Excommunication notwithſtanding all the Dukes endeavours, being publiſhed at *Bologna*, and elſewhere, order was given to keep ſtrict watch at all the Gates of the City, where every perſon who entered was to be examined and ſearched, leſt it ſhould be brought to *Ferrara*, and affixed by night upon the great Church: and people being now in a general conſternation, betwixt the news of the Sentence which was expreſt in the moſt dreadfull terms, and of the Popes Army, which was advancing towards them, Father *Palma* a Jeſuit, with the wonted aſſurance of thoſe of his Order, demanded Audience of the Duke, and after having made a grave diſcourſe, like a Divine, of the great danger of being cut off from the Communion of the Church, and of forfeiting all thoſe

priviledges that Chriſtians enjoy, he put on the perſon of a Stateſman, and ſhewed the Duke how unreaſonable it was for him to think of reſiſting the Papal Power, with which few Kings were able to graple; he put him in mind that he had not to do with him who bore St *Peters* Keyes only, but alſo his Sword; that the Pope was no inconſiderable Prince in what immediately belonged to the Church; and that beſides this, he had a party in all other Princes Dominions and Courts, and could never be ſuppoſed to want aſſiſtance from abroad more than other Princes could reaſonably promiſe themſelves, and therefore upon the whole matter, after great proteſtations of kindneſs for his Highneſs, and his moſt ſerene Family, he conjured him, not to ſtand out, concluding that the circumſtances in which the Duke then was, obliged him to follow his advice, becauſe thoſe whom he moſt truſted were ready upon occaſion to betray him: that there was a deſign alſo upon his other Dominions, and that he was ſure the Pope wanted not friends at *Ferrara*,

Ferrara, who, if the buſineſs were not ſoon accommodated, would at length compaſs their ends in the Dukes ruine.

When *Palma* was gone, the Duke began to reflect upon what he had ſaid, eſpecially upon the latter part of his diſcourſe, which he thought was not to be ſlighted, having reaſon to believe, that none knew more of the deſigns afoot againſt him, than that good Father and the reſt of his Order. Whereupon growing jealous, leſt *Modena* and *Regio* might be loſt, while he laboured in vain to preſerve *Ferrara*, a ſudden reſolution was taken to part with it, and the Dutcheſs of *Urbin* was forthwith employ'd to go and treat with the Popes Nephew, Cardinal *Aldobrandin*. The Articles were too ſoon agreed on, but might have been much more for the Dukes advantage, had he pitched upon another Plenipotentiary than the Dutcheſs, who moſt palpably ſacrificed his concerns to ſecure her own. The Duke having according to the agreement reſign'd the Government into the hands of the Magiſtrates, and ſent

the Prince his Son hoſtage to *Bologna* for the performance of the other Articles, made what haſt he could to retire to *Modena*, for he now began to hate *Ferrara*, and that upon good grounds: *Don Mario Farneſe* ſent thither by the Cardinal, having plainly ſhew'd him, that all his ſecrets had been revealed, and the manner of ſeizing on his Dominions concerted by many of thoſe about him, as Letters there produced under their hands and ſeals did teſtifie, and that the City was to have been delivered to the Popes Army within a few dayes, had not the Duke prevented them by a voluntary ſurrender.

Nothing can excuſe *Cæſar*'s parting with his Dutchy upon ſo eaſie terms, but the evident danger he ſaw himſelf in of being betray'd by his own Subjects, who expected great things under a New Government: Yet we muſt not brand all of them with this black mark of perfidy, as is too common upon ſuch occaſions: A few traytors may bring an undeſerved blot upon the Nobility and Gentry of a whole Nation, which in general

neral abhors ſuch helliſh practices; of which we had too ſignal an inſtance, in the never enough deteſted delivery of our late Soveraign of bleſſed memory, where the crime of a few was charged on our whole Nation: And the ſame harſh opinion might we have of thoſe of *Ferrara*, that others have raſhly entertained of us, did not our unjuſt ſufferings put me in mind to vindicate them: the moſt conſiderable then among the Nobility, and indeed the greateſt part did behave themſelves both dutifully and faithfully towards the Duke; and foreſeeing the miſery which was like to enſue upon the loſs of their Prince, took their leave of him with unfeigned expreſſions of ſorrow, and moſt them out of love to the injured Houſe of *Eſté*, would have forſaken with a good heart their Native Countrey, and ſetled at *Modena*, could they have carried their Eſtates along with them.

After this manner was the flouriſhing City of *Ferrara* loſt, I may almoſt ſay, ruined; that very night Duke *Cæſar* departed, five thouſand

of the Inhabitants, who depended upon the Court, wanted bread; in a few months many of the ſhops were ſhut up, and the Tradeſmen forced to go into other Cities, not being longer able to maintain their Families there, the Nobility found their condition very comfortleſs, and thoſe who had betrayed the Duke in hopes of preferment were juſtly diſappointed of their expectations: the New Government with new Cuſtoms and heavy Taxes, brought in ſtrangers into moſt of the good Offices which the Natives enjoyed under their Dukes; ſo that even thoſe who were moſt for a change, if they had foreſeen what was to come, would all, as one man, have ſacrificed their lives in the Dukes defence. *Modena* upon the other hand growing every day more populous and rich, became ſoon ſenſible of the benefit of a Court, for what was raiſed by Taxes ſeemed rather lent, being repay'd oftentimes with intereſt by the Dukes expences among them: beſides the Nobility who formerly gave their attendance at *Ferrara* ſpent all their Rents now

at

at home; ſo that in a few years the Inhabitants were double in number to what they had been before the Courts coming thither: But it was obſerved, that of ſixty thouſand perſons whom the Duke left at *Ferrara*, after ſome years there was ſcarce half the number to be found there, and at preſent (as I was credibly informed upon the place) they cannot reckon twelve thouſand, and of theſe no inconſiderable parts are Jews; ſome Lanes of that melancholy City are utterly forſaken, moſt of the Palaces are ruinous, and the chief ſtreet ſo little frequented, that graſs appears in many places. In a word, there are few inſtances of Cities, which without ſuffering by any long ſiege, or extraordinary caſualty have decayed faſter than *Ferrara* has done in little more than fourſcore years ſince its Union to the Church.

Riſtretto delle Ragioni che la Sereniſſima Caſa d' Eſté ha colla Camera Apoſtolica fatto al tempo d' Urbano 8vo, dove ſi moſtrera che foſſe inſufficiente è Lontano della Ragione il preteſto di Clemente 8vo d'occupare li ſtati del Duca Cæſare.

IL preteſto del occupazione hebbe per fondamento la morte del Duca Alfonſo 2do, pretendendoſi che lo ſtato di Ferrara foſſe devoluto alla ſede Apoſtolica per Linea finita, e che l'Duca Ceſare Cugino ed Erede del defunto non poteſſe eſſerne capace come nato di padre non legittimo, eſſendo Don Alfonſo Figlio, del Duca Alfonſo 1mo è di D. Laura Euſtochia fra li quali adducevaſi non eſſere ſeguita la neceſſaria validita del matrimonio.

Luſingato da queſt' apparenza di ragione Clemente 8° allora pontefice, s'induſſe

dusse a procedere non solo con monitorii e censure contra la persona del Duca Cesare, ma a muovere l'armé a condurre a danni di lui Eserciti numerosi ed a procurargli con occulte negoziazioni ogni maggiore pregiudizio anche negl altri stati che dal sagro Romano Imperio unicamente riconnosceva : di modo che l' Duca Cesare per non poter resistere a si potente aversario; mosso da giusta temenza, rilascio il possesso di quel stato nella maniera che fece.

Che Don Alfonso, Padre del Duca Cesare fosse legitimo pe'l matrimonio seguito poi fra il Duca Alfonso 1mo suo Padre, e D. Laura Eustochia sua Madre, le pruove susseguenti assai chiaramente lo dimostrano.

La Testimonianza degl' Historici, della cui fede in casi simili suole e dée farsi grande stima e capitale quando particularmente son molti, non ammette dubitazione alcuna nel matrimonio; E vaglia il vero come puo crederssi che le penne di tanti e cosi celebri scrittori avessero co'l pregiudizio della loro gloria cospirato alla publicazione di cosa notoriamente falsa, mentre potevano con tanta facilitá essere convinti di Bugia.

Ne

Ne dée ſupporrſi che per adulazione o-vero per promuovere la propria fortuna nel migliorare la condizione degl' altri condeſcendeſſere a mentire, eſſendo in quel tempo lontaniſſimo il caſo di queſta ſucceſſione per eſſere allora vivi i quatro figli dell altra Moglie Lucretia Borgia.

Fra Leandro Alberti nella ſua deſcrizione d' Italia trattando della Romagnuola, e parlando d' Alfonſo 1mo, *coſi preciſamente ragiona,* ‘*Uxores habuit tres,* 1^mam^ *Annam Galleatii Forz æ Mediolani Ducis filiam, inde Lucretiam Alexand.* 6^ti^ *Pontificis Maximi, ex qua Liberos Mares* 4. *ſuſtulit, Herculem* 2^dum^, *Hypolitum qui poſtea Cardinalis, Franciſcum & Alexandrum, deinde Lucretia mortua, duxit Lauram Ferrarienſem obſcuræ quidem originis, ſed accerrimi ingenii, maximæq; prudentiæ fæminam, ex qua duos Alphonſos creavit.* Parole chiariſſime e che pruovano non ſolo il matrimonio ma i figlioli che n'ebbe, uno dé quale fu Don Alfonſo di cui preſentamente ſi fa menzione. Lo Scrittore era Frate, era ſuddito della Chieſa, e contemporaneo del Duca Alfonſo, poteva ſapere la verita

rità del fatto, e quando pure la passione havesse havuta forza di muover le egli, e credibile che non a favore, ma contra il matrimonio havesse scritto.

Il Giovio non solo persona Excellentissima, ma Vescovo, Coetaneo anco egli del prefato Duca, e pienamente informato degl interessi de' prencipi, ragionando di D. Laura dice, 'Verum eam 'probis pudicisque moribus, & statæ for- 'mæ dignitate ad genium respondentem, '& à fœlici fœcunditate commendatam, 'legitimæ uxoris loco habuit, & geminos 'ex ea filios de nomine suo Alphonsos ap- 'pellavit : dal che chiaramente si comprende che'l Duca Alfonso dopo lacquisto de i due figlioli firato delle singulari virtú di D. Laura la prese per Moglie.

Marco Guazzo nella cronica de suoi tempi, chiama ancor egli Moglie d'Alfonso Laura Ferrarese Donna d'umile sangue, ma per prudenza ed ingegno molto nobile. Lo stesso testificano il Sansovino nella storia delle famiglie illustri d'Italia, ed Andrea Teut Autore Francese nelle vite degli huomini illustri, lib. 5. cap. 53. *E finalmente Marc Antonio Guarini Ferrarese, e però partiale della chiesa, e che scrisse tant anni dopo lóc-*

cupazione

cupazione di Ferrara, onde con molta ragione poteva dubitare dell indignazione del Papa; Forzato della verita, conferma il medesimo nel suo compendio storico delle chiese e luogi più di Ferrara.

Alle suprad dette Autorità s'aggiunge anco quella di Federico Scotto Dottore di chiarissimo nome, e che scrisse ancor egli assai vicino a detti tempi, perche volendo pruovare, Cons. 4. num. 17, e 18. Tom. 2. lib. 3. *che un prencipe puo donare a sua Moglie, porta per essempio le donazioni fatte a D. Laura quando fu sposata dal Duca Alfonso, con queste parole, 'Exemplum ponerem in donamen-'tis missis ab Alphonso 1mo, Duce Fer-'rariæ, D. Lauræ tertiæ ejus uxori, &'filiæ Beretarii ab illo ductæ causa voti 'adimplendi.*

Ne della fede degli storici dissentono le depositioni, che tutta via si conservano a perpetua memoria di molti testimoni esaminati in forma autentica; onde conchiudamente si pruova una publica voce e fama del matrimonio di cui si parla, e tal'un e ch'arriva a deporre d'avere con gl'ócchi propri veduta D. Laura ricevere dallo stesso Duca onori

e trat-

e trattamenti propri di Moglie. Aggeungono ch ella godeva le prerogative che ad una prencipessa solamente potevano convenirsi, vegnendo communemente onorata non solo da i sudditi, ma anche da i prencipi forrestieri, ed essendo da tutti chiamata di casa d'Esté, cognome del quale s intitolava anch'ella sempre in tutte le scritture publiche e private, come pure oggi appare per un infinità di strumenti authentici, privilegi, ordini, lettere, mandati, e simili.

Servivasi del sigillo coll' arma de' prencipi d'Esté ne suoi ordini e lettere, parlava in noi; era solita d'andare per la citta con Gentilhuomini avanti, e dame in carrozza dietro: per espressione di quella fortuna favorevole, che dal' umile sua condizione l'aveva sublimata a quello stato di grandezza portava, scolpito nella sua carrozza un sole con motto, Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est; *e 'l Duca suo marito alludendo allo stesso fe battere moneta delle quali moltissime si veggono pure oggidi con un salvatore a sedere ed una Donna a suoi piedi colle parole,* Fides tua salvam te fecit; *segno manifestissimo ch'l aveva essaltata al supremo grado di*

moglie

moglie. Ella dopo la morte del marito vesti per tutto 'l tempo che sopravisse abiti Vedouili, e che non auvrebbe fatto, se tale non fosse stata. Dagl' Onori e dalle prerogative che'lla bebbe in vita, passono i Testimoni suddetti alle dimostrazioni che in morte le furono fatte, e dicono, ch'l Duca Alfonso secundo e'l Cardinale Luigi suo Fratello col segnito di tutta la Corte l'accompagnarono publicamente alla sepoltura, Onorando il Duca quel funerale col corrotto, e l'Cardinale col abito solito a portarsi per la morte de' parenti. La Corte tutta vesti da duolo, e furono conforme all uso, espoſte larme di detta signora in quartate con quelle de'prencipi d'Esté, Una delle quale riconnosciuta da i Medesimi Testimoni tutta via si conserva. Onori tale Dimostrazioni di questa sorte a qual altro potevano competere ch'ad una moglie del Duca? e come mai Alfonso secundo e'l Cardinale Luigi prencipi chi nel portamento loro tennero sempre stile e maniere proporzionate alla condizione loro, hævrebbono tollerato non che cooperato colla propria assistenza che in forma somigliante, ella fosse tratata quando per

una Prencipessa della casa loro non avessero effettivamenti riconnoscinta.

Sonoci finalmente due strumenti Autentici e Legalizzati, che Sgombrano ogni nube di difficulta essendo massimamente rogati in Ferrara, luno del 1550. e l'altro del 1551. Le precise parole per quello che tocca il punto del matrimonio sono linfrascritte concordi ed uniformi.

' Illustrissima Dna D. Laura Eustochia, Uxor quondam Illustrissimi & ' Excellentissimi Ducis Alphonsi Ferrariæ, Mutinæ & Regii Ducis, &c. E pur viveva di que 'giorni Ercole secundo, chi mal affetto, come si sa, a D. Laura ed a suoi figlioli, non aurebbe permesso ch' ella con titoli somiglianti fosse in scrittura publica falsamente Onorata.

E con suddetti confrontasi un altro strumento antico che dice.

' Illustrissima & Excellentissima D. ' Laura Estensis, Relicta quondam Illustrissimi & Excellentissimi Prin' cipis Alphonsi felicis memoriæ Ducis ' Ferrariæ, &c. Riflettasi per conchiusione del presente articolo che qui si tratta di negozio antico, nel quale sammettono non solo le pruove conchiudenti,

denti, ma le cogietturali e presuntive ancora, come sono queste, e tanto piu che non si cerca adesso la verita del matrimonio per lo matrimonio stesso, ma solo per legitimare la successione ne posteri, nel qual caso tanto piu facilmente si ricevono le pruove le piu Leggieri. Ne di poca considerazione e, che'l matrimonio suddetto fosse celebrato prima del Concilio di Trento, per che non vi ricercavano tante solennitá, e le provizioni fatte in quella santissima radunanza, furono per regolare i matrimoni futuri non i passati, come piu volte da piu supremi Tribunali e stato dichiarato, ne mancherebbe lo strumento Principale del Matrimonio del quale fu Rogato Gio. Battista Sarachi Notario Ferrarese: E questo ed altre scritture concernenti la stessa materia non fossero state tolte dal Duca Ercole, per auversione che teneva (come s' è toccato di sopra) a i Duoi Alfonsi suoi fratelli, cagionata dal essere questi figli d'un altra Madre, e dal vedere che l' Duca Alfonso Commun Padre gl' amava con parzialita d' affetto ed aveva loro assegnati per cio Feudi Liberi ed independenti e rendite di non or-

dinaria conseguenza. Restanci non dimeno per Giudizio divino tant altre pruove ancora che bastano per svelare la verita.

Anzi a queste ragioni indotta la Maestà di Ferdinando secundo Imperatore, ed informato che Don Alfonso fu veramente legitimato per lo Matrimonio susseguito, non solo dichiarò vana la fama publicata in contrario da persone mal affette, ma concesse anche l'Investitura a me, degli stati Imperiali non come a semplice successore del Duca Alfonso secundo, ma come a Prencipe chiamato e compreso nell' antiche investiture de miei progenitori.

E perche non paia che sua Maestà senza le dovute precedenti ponderazioni si movesse a cio, accompagna la sua dichiarazione coll infrascritte formali parole, 'animóque bene deliberato & 'sano, & maturo accedente consilio.

Restando dunque provato il matrimonio per la fede di tanti storici, per la Testimonianza d'un cosi accreditato Giurisconsulto, per la deposizione di Testimoni per essere stata D. Laura trattata sempre come moglie del Duca in vita, ed in morte per titoli, sotto-

scrizioni,

scrizioni, sigilli, arme, vestiti, e finalmente per dichiarazione dell Imperatore; vien di necessaria conseguenza abbattuto il pretesto del caso di Ferrara, perche provato il matrimonio non puo rivocarsi in dubbio che i figliuoli legitimati per mezzo d' esso non sieno realmente legitimi, e per cio capaci della successione di qual si voglia stato.

An Abſtract of the Rights of the moſt Serene Houſe of Eſté, *againſt the Apoſtolical Chamber in the time of* Urban *the* 8th, *by which it will appear, that* Clement *the Eighths pretence for ſeizing upon Duke* Cæſars *Territories was moſt weak and unreaſonable.*

THe pretence for the ſeizure was grounded upon the death of Duke *Alphonſus* the ſecond, it being alledged that the Dutchy of *Ferrara* was fallen into the Apoſtolical See by the failing of the Line; and that Duke *Cæſar*, Couſin and Heir to the late Duke, could not ſucceed, as born of a Father not lawfully begot, Don *Alphonſus* being the Son of Duke *Alphonſus* the firſt, and the Lady *Laura Euſtochia*, betwixt whom they pretended that there did not paſs the neceſſary tye of marriage.

Clement the eighth who was then Pope, being deceived by this ſhadow of reaſon, took upon him to proceed againſt the perſon of Duke *Cæſar*, not only by monitories and cenſures, but alſo by making War, by bringing numerous Armies againſt him; and by ſubtile practices, working him alſo what miſchief he could in his other Territories, which he held of none but the Sacred *Roman* Empire: inſomuch that Duke *Cæſar* not being able to deal with ſo powerfull an Adverſary, and being moved with a juſt fear, parted with the poſſeſſion of that Dutchy as he did.

That Don *Alphonſus* the Father of Duke *Cæſar* was legitimate by the marriage which followed betwixt Duke *Alphonſus* the firſt his Father, and the Lady *Laura Euſtochia* his Mother, the following proofs make moſt evident.

The teſtimony of Hiſtorians (whoſe credit in ſuch caſes we uſe, and ought highly to value and regard, particularly when they are many) leave no ground to doubt of the Marriage: and to ſpeak the truth, how can it be imagined

gined that the pens of so many, and of so famous Writers, should, to the prejudice of their reputation, have conspired to publish a thing notoriously false, while they could so easily have been convicted of a lye? Nor is it to be supposed that out of flattery, or a design to promote their own fortunes, by bettering other mens condition, they would have condescended to publish a falsehood, seeing there was not at that time the least appearance of this succession, the four Sons of the former Dutchess *Lucretia Borgia* being then alive.

Leander Albertus in his description of *Italy* treating of *Romagnola*, and speaking of *Alphonsus* the first, uses these very words, 'He had three 'Wives, first, *Anne* Daughter to *Gal-* 'leazo *Forza* Duke of *Milan*; then 'Lucretia Pope *Alexander* the sixth's 'Daughter, by whom he had four 'Sons, *Hercules* the second, *Hypolitus* 'afterwards a Cardinal, *Francis* and 'Alexander; in the third place, *Lucre-* 'tia being dead, he married *Laura* of 'Ferrara, a woman of mean Paren- 'tage indeed, but of most quick parts

'and

'and extraordinary prudence, by 'whom he begot two *Alphonſus*'s. Words moſt plain, and which prove not only the Marriage, but alſo the Sons he had, one of whom was *Alphonſus* that we now mention. This Writer was a Fryar, a Subject of the Church, and Contemporary with Duke *Alphonſus*: he had occaſion to be informed of the truth of the buſineſs; and if paſſion could at all have byaſſed him, it is to be believed he would not have written for the Marriage, but againſt it.

Jovius, who was not only a moſt rare Perſon, but a Biſhop, Contemporary likewiſe to the above named Duke, and perfectly well verſed in the concerns of Princes, diſcourſing of the Lady *Laura*, ſayes, 'But ſhe 'being of a virtuous and chaſt beha-'viour, and in her beauty anſwerable 'to her parts, and being happily re-'commended by her fruitfulneſs, he 'had her for his lawfull Wife, and 'had by her two Sons, both of whom 'after his own Name he called *Al-'phonſus*. By which we clearly underſtand, that Duke *Alphonſus* after he

he had got two Sons by her, being charmed with the ſingular Virtue of the Lady *Laura*, took her for his Wife.

Marcus Guazzo in his Annals of thoſe Times, calls the Lady *Laura* of *Ferrara* Duke *Alphonſus*'s Wife, a woman of low Extraction, but for her Prudence and Parts truly Noble; both *Sanſovinus* in his Hiſtory of the Illuſtrious Families of *Italy*, and *Andrew Teut* a *French* Author in his Lives of the Illuſtrious Men, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 53. do teſtifie the ſame: And finally *Marcus Antonius Guarini* of *Ferrara*, though he was a great friend to the Church, and writ ſo long after the ſeizure of *Ferrara*, that he had reaſon to doubt of his incurring the Popes indignation; yet being conſtrained by truth, he confirms the ſame in his Hiſtorical Compend. of the Churches, and pious places of *Ferrara*.

To the above-mentioned Authorities we muſt likewiſe add that of *Frederick Scot*, a Doctor of great reputation, and that writ alſo near thoſe Times, who while he endeavours to prove, *Conſ.* 4. *numb.* 17, and 18. *Tom.* 2. *lib.*

2. *lib.* 3. That a Prince may make preſents to his Wife, brings for an inſtance the preſents made to the Lady *Laura* when ſhe was married to Duke *Alphonſus* in theſe very words, 'I could give an example in the Pre-'ſents ſent by *Alphonſus* the firſt, 'Duke of *Ferrara* to the Lady *Lau-'ra* his third Wife, and the Daugh-'ter of *Beretarius* whom the Duke 'married in performance of his 'vow.

Nor do the depoſitions of many Witneſſes that were examined in a legal manner ſince the loſs of *Ferrara*, and which are ſtill kept on record, differ from the Hiſtorians Teſtimony: From whence a publick report and fame of the marriage we ſpeak of is evidently proved, and ſome there were ready to take oath that they had ſeen the Lady *Laura* treated by the Duke himſelf with that honour and reſpect which are only due to a Wife: to this they add that ſhe enjoy'd Prerogatives which were ſutable to none but a Princeſs: ſhe was generally reſpected as ſuch, not only by her Subjects, but likewiſe by

by foreign Princes, and was by all treated with the name of the Houſe of *Eſté*; which ſirname ſhe alwayes took in all publick and private writings, as doth ſtill appear by an infinite number of Authentick Inſtruments, Priviledges, Orders, Letters, Commiſſions, and the like.

She made uſe of a Seal with the Arms of the Princes of *Eſté* in her Orders and Letters, ſhe ſpoke in the plural number [*We*:] It was her cuſtom when ſhe went abroad to have Gentlemen before, and Ladies in Coach behind her. And as an expreſſion of that favourable fortune, which from her low Condition had exalted her to that pitch of greatneſs, ſhe had engraved upon her Coach a Sun with this Motto, *For he who is great has magnified me:* and the Duke her Husband alluding to the ſame, had Money coined, of which very many pieces are ſtill to be ſeen, where our Saviour is ſitting, and a woman at his feet, with theſe words, *Thy faith hath made thee whole*; which was a moſt manifeſt ſign that he had exalted her to the eminent ſtation of a Wife.

All

All the time ſhe ſurvived her Husband ſhe went in the habit of a widow, which ſhe had not done, had ſhe not been one. From the Honours and Prerogatives ſhe enjoyed in her life, the ſaid witneſſes paſs to the reſpects which were pay'd her at her death; and they averr, that Duke *Alphonſus* the ſecond, and Cardinal *Lewis* his Brother, with a train of the whole Court did ſolemnly accompany her to the place of burial, the Duke honouring the Funeral with mourning, and the Cardinal with the Cloaths which ſuch Princes uſe to wear upon the death of their Relations. The whole Court put on mourning, and as the cuſtom is, they did hang out the Arms of the ſaid Lady quartered with thoſe of the Princes of *Eſté*, one of which, according to the teſtimony of the ſame witneſſes is ſtill preſerved: To whom elſe could honours and reſpects of this kind agree, but to the Dukes Wife? and how could ever Duke *Alphonſus* and Cardinal *Lewis* who were Princes, that in their carriage obſerved alwayes a ſtate and carriage

riage ſutable to their quality, ever have ſuffered, much leſs contributed by their preſence towards her being treated after this manner, if they had not really own'd her for a Princeſs of their Family?

Finally, there are two Authentick Inſtruments verified by all the forms of Law, which remove all manner of difficulty, and were with great earneſtneſs required and made by a Notary in *Ferrara*, the one in the year 1550, and the other in 1551. The very words for what concerns the marriage do agree and are the ſame, as they are here ſet down.

'The moſt Illuſtrious Lady, the 'Lady *Laura Euſtochia*, Wife of the 'moſt Illuſtrious and Excellent Duke '*Alphonſus*, late Duke of *Ferrara*, '*Modena* and *Regio*, &c. And yet *Hercules* the ſecond was then alive, who having no kindneſs, as every one knows, for the Lady *Laura* and her Sons, would never have ſuffer'd that ſhe ſhould have been falſely honoured in publick writings with ſuch like Titles as theſe.

And with thoſe abovementioned there

there is another ancient Inſtrument, which agrees with it thus:

'The moſt Illuſtrious and moſt 'Excellent Lady *Laura* of *Eſté*, re- 'lict of the late moſt Illuſtrious and 'Excellent Prince *Alphonſus* of bleſ- 'ſed memory Duke of *Ferrara*, &c. 'being perſonally preſent. To conclude the matter now in hand, we muſt conſider that here we treat of a buſineſs of ſome antiquity, in which not only evident proofs, but likewiſe preſumptive and conjectural ones, ſuch as theſe are, muſt be allow'd; and the rather, becauſe we do not enquire now into the truth of the marriage for the marriage it ſelf, but only to make the Succeſſion Legitimate for poſterity, in which caſe ſlighter proofs may be the better admitted. Nor is it of ſmall moment, that the ſaid marriage was ſolemnized before the Council of *Trent*, becauſe then ſo many formalities were not required, and the Orders that were made in that moſt holy aſſembly, were for regulating future marriages, and not thoſe that were paſt, as it has been often declared in ſeveral

ral Supreme Judicatures, nor would the Original Inſtrument of the marriage be wanting, which was required and made by *John Baptiſta Sarachi* a Notary in *Ferrara*, if this and other papers relating to the ſame affair had not been withdrawn by Duke *Hercules* for the grudge he bore (as we have already hinted) to the two *Alphonſus*'s his Brothers, both upon the account of their being the Sons of another Mother, and becauſe he obſerved that his and their Father Duke *Alphonſus* loved them ſo very tenderly, and thereupon granted them free and independent Feuds, and conſiderable Revenues: Nevertheleſs by Divine Providence, ſo many proofs ſtill remain as are ſufficient to diſcover the truth.

Moreover his Imperial Majeſty *Ferdinand* the ſecond being wrought upon by theſe motives, and informed that Don *Alphonſus* was really legitimate by the Marriage that followed, not only declared the report which was given out to the contrary by ill affected perſons, to

be vain, but did grant alſo the Inveſtiture of the Imperial Territories to me, not as the Succeſſor ſimply of Duke *Alphonſus* the ſecond, but as to a Prince named and comprehended in the ancient Inveſtitures of my Progenitors.

And that it may not appear his Majeſty was moved to do this without having firſt weighed well the buſineſs, he accompanies his Declaration with the very words that follow, that he declared this, 'having deliberated well upon it, and 'having taken ſound and mature advice about it.

The Marriage being then proved by the credit of ſo many Hiſtorians, by the teſtimony of ſo famous a Lawyer, by the depoſition of Witneſſes, that the Lady *Laura* was alwayes treated as the Dukes Wife during her Life, and at her Death, by Titles, Subſcriptions, Seals, Arms, Habit; and laſtly, by the Emperours Declaration: It neceſſarily follows then, that the pretence of the devolution of *Ferrara* is overthrown, becauſe the Marriage being thus proved,

proved, it cannot be queſtioned but the Children who are by this means Legitimate, are really lawfull, and therefore capable of ſucceeding to any eſtate whatſoever.

FINIS.